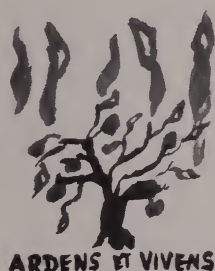


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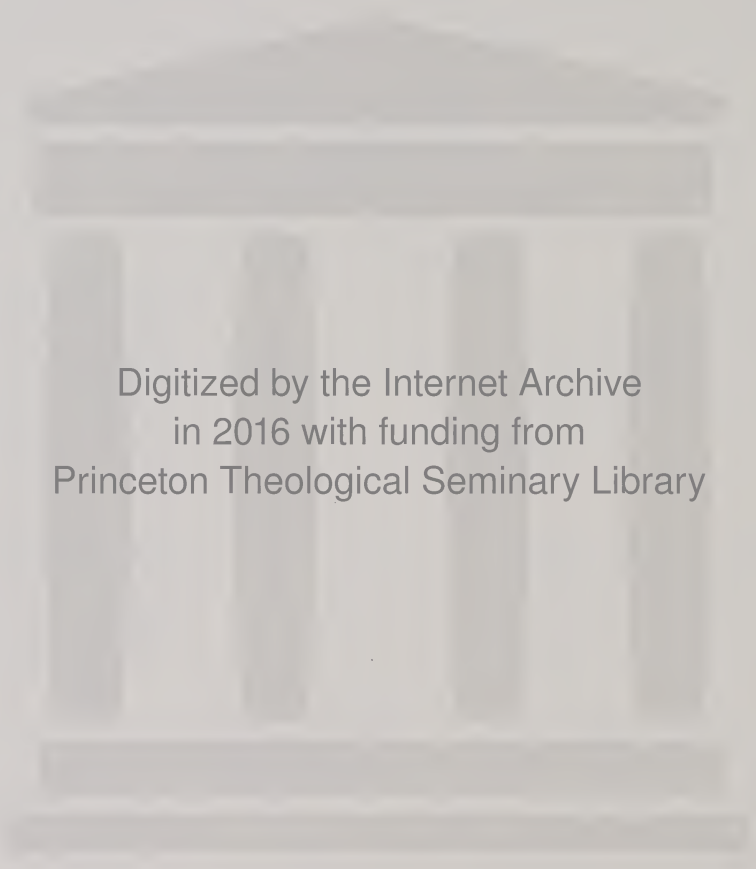
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THE DISPUTATIONS OF BADEN, 1526
AND BERNE, 1528:
Neutralizing the Early Church



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THE DISPUTATIONS OF BADEN, 1526
AND BERNE, 1528:
Neutralizing the Early Church

IRENA BACKUS



PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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Editor's Foreword

The years covered by Dr. Backus' study were ones of crucial transition in diplomatic and theological alignments. This study makes more widely available than before, an analysis of the contents of the debates that occurred during the two disputations treated. The study is also especially valuable for the way it sets these disputations in the larger framework of correspondence and pamphleteering, which variously served to bring the dissenting parties closer together or to reinforce the deep divisions that had already been identified. The Hapsburg agenda, the specter of the Peasants's Revolt, the shared rejection of nonmagisterial and non-Roman Catholic challenges, the Turks' gains that made for otherwise unpredictable alliances—all these and more add to the dramatic material out of which the political changes and theological positions traced by this study were partly shaped. One is not really so surprised, given the background of the developments traced here, at the outcome of the Marburg Colloquy in 1529. One is, however, impressed again with the extent of a common will to find reconciling ways and the careful formulary efforts that prevailed through the next decade. The accomplishment of the Ratisbon Colloquy in 1541 appears all the more extraordinary, and, one must say, all the more tragically ineffectual, given the history of the efforts represented by the Baden and Berne (to use the variant spelling used in this study) Disputations.

Irena Backus is Professeur Titulaire at the University of Geneva, in the Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation. She is a member of the Advisory Council of *Studies in Reformed Theology and History*, the Editorial Board of the new edition of the *Calvini Opera*, the Executive Committee of the Erasmus of Rotterdam Society, and the Executive Committee of the *Zwingliverien* based in Zürich. Among her main publications are *The Reformed Roots of the English New Testament*, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1980 (*Pittsburgh Theological Monographs*, vol. 28); a critical edition of Martin Bucer's *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, Leiden, 1988 (*Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought*, vol. 40); *Lectures humanistes de Basile de Césarée: Traductions latines 1439–1618*, Paris, 1990 (*Collection des Etudes Augustiniennes. Série "Antiquité,"* vol. 125); edited, with Francis Higman, *Théorie et pratique de l'exégèse. Actes du troisième colloque international sur l'histoire de l'exégèse biblique au 16e siècle, tenu à*

Genève... 1988, Genève, 1990 (*Etudes de philologie et d'histoire*, vol. 43). She is presently editing a survey volume, to be published by Brill, on the topic of some aspects of the reception of the Church Fathers in the West, and is engaged in doing a critical edition of Erasmus' *Paraphrases* of the Gospel of John (for the Amsterdam Edition of Erasmus' works).

Although there will be some exceptions (this initiating issue for example), *Studies in Reformed Theology and History* intends to publish studies of a size between articles for journals and full-length monographs. Each issue will be by one author on one topic. The aim is thereby to make available and affordable concise scholarly resources prepared by an international community of researchers. As it is, there are numerous worthwhile studies done by scholars, not a few of them in so-called third-world countries, which do not receive the wider circulation that they merit. The series is generously underwritten by donors who themselves are committed to historical and theological research.

The burning bush, the logo chosen for the series, usually appears with the passive form used to describe it in Exodus 3:2: the bush was blazing "yet it was not consumed." It is used, probably as an ornament rather than the printer's device, in a 1576 edition of Peter Vermigli's *Loci Communes*, with the tetragrammaton at the center of the blaze but with no accompanying words (R. B. McKerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland, 1485-1640*, London, Chiswick, 1913, item 197 and p. 74). The emblem was used as part of the seal of the Reformed churches of France, Spain, England and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The latter used the active participles yet with the disjunctive: "burning but living." The positive expression conforms well to Calvin's interesting commentary on Exodus 3:2. He warns against the allegorizers who see in the bush the human nature of Christ which is not destroyed by the divine nature, or who see the wood as imperfections through which, nonetheless, God's revelation occurs. Rather, for Calvin, the burning bush is simply a reminder of two things: that in times of crisis God causes light to shine in darkness for the people; and that the Church is always sustained and comforted by God's presence.

Another reason for the choice of this logo is the prominence of the tradition that has attended to a secondary sense of "ardent", one which insisted that true knowledge is affective and that learning and piety, far from being antithetical, are mutually corrective and complementary. Critical scholarship, carried on by scholars fervently dedicated to respectful but prophetic appraisal of a heritage's past and future, quickens an intellectual curiosity and enlivens one's response to contemporary demands and possibilities. It is not so much a matter of "burning but nonetheless living" as "burning and therefore flourishing."

David Willis-Watkins

Preface

The object of this short study is to show something of the shaping of reformed theology and its methods in the two Swiss Disputations, Baden, held in May 1526, and Berne, held in January 1528. Although a considerable amount of attention has been devoted by historians to analysing the political pressures on the two debates¹ and to their legal and administrative history, to this day no analysis exists of the theology and structure of the arguments advanced by the parties concerned.² This will therefore be the focal point of this study. I also aim to place the discussions in their social and cultural context by discussing the most important pamphlets that appeared “around” the Disputations. In a word, my aim is to analyse the cultural and theological significance of the two events rather than the lives and careers of any person or group of people³ associated with them.

I should like to thank my colleagues at Geneva, and more particularly Mlle. Marlène Jaouich who prepared the typescript.

Irena Backus
Institut d'histoire de la Réformation
University of Geneva, February 1992

¹ Leonhard von Muralt, *Die Badener Disputation 1526*, Leipzig 1926 (*Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte*, Bd. 6); *Berner Reformationsfeier 1928*, bearb. E. Bühler et alii (2 Bde), Berne 1928; *Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Berner-Reformation 1521–1532* hgb. R. Steck, G. Tobler (2 Bde), Berne 1918, 1923; Berndt Moeller, *Zwinglis Disputationen* in: *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 87 (1970), 275–324 and 91 (1974), 213–364; *450 Jahre Berner Reformation. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Berner Reformation und zu Niklaus Manuel*, hgb. vom Historischen Verein des Kantons Bern, Bern 1980; Dan L. Hendricks, *The Bern Disputation: Some Observations* in: *Zwingliana* 14 (1978), 565–575 (valuable chiefly for its comparative tables of theses of the Ilanz, Baden, and Berne Disputations); Gottfried W. Locher, *Die Berner Disputation 1528. Charakter, Verlauf, Bedeutung und theologischer Gehalt* in: *Zwingliana* 14 (1978), 542–564 (with bibliography of secondary literature).

² There is no modern critical edition of the *Acts* of either Disputation.

³ The more prominent protagonists such as Eck, Fabri, Bucer, Zwingli, hardly need any introduction. The basic information about the less well known Swiss protagonists is available in the *Dictionnaire historique et biographique de la Suisse*, 8 vols., Neuchâtel, 1921–1933 (DHBS). Some of the Roman Catholic protagonists (notably Conrad Treger) have been the object of an article in the series *Katholische Theologen in der Reformationszeit*, hgb. Erwin Iserloh, 5 Bde, Münster 1984–1988 (*Katholisches Leben und Kirchenreform im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung*, Hefte 44–48).

I

The First Exchange of Pamphlets Prior to the Baden Disputation, 1524–1526

SEBASTIAN HOFMEISTER AND HIS
ANTWURT UFF DIE ABLEINUNG DOCTOR ECKENS

On 13 August 1524, Eck wrote to the “Eidgenossen” (i.e., the twelve Swiss Cantons) suggesting that Zwingli’s heresies should be countered once and for all in a public disputation.¹ The letter was transmitted to Zwingli who had it printed, together with a refutation of it, on 31 August of the same year. Zwingli’s pamphlet was entitled *Johannis Eggen missive und embieten den frommen festen eersamen, wysen gemeine eidgnossen boten zu Baden im ougsten versammlet überschickt etc. Über solchs embieten Huldrychen Zwinglis, so vil er darin angerürt, christenlich und zimmlich verantwurt*.²

Both Eck’s letter and Zwingli’s answer reveal the nature of the tension. Eck in his letter states his pleasure at the fact that the “Eidgenossen” are defending the true religion against the Lutheran heresy. They must not allow themselves to be prevailed upon by the Zürich heretic Zwingli, and should summon him to a public disputation so that he can be condemned. The condemnation must be unequivocal; Zwingli will have no Duke of Saxony to hide behind as Luther did when he was condemned by the Paris theologians! The principle of arguing from the Scripture does not frighten Eck at all: he is very happy to prove to Zwingli that the Roman Catholic teaching is in accord with the Scripture, whereas Zwingli’s doctrines fundamentally go against it.

Zwingli does not mince words in his reply: the very way Eck has gone behind Zwingli’s back to the “Eidgenossen” suggests that he, Eck, is ungodly. Were he a true servant of God, he would have first approached Zwingli himself. Second, says Zwingli, what right has Eck to approach the Confederates? Third, why write

¹ Cf. von Muralt, 21–27.

² Cf. Schuler-Schultheß 2:2, 398–403.

to the Confederates and not to the city authorities of Zürich where Zwingli resides and works? Fourth, if Eck wants to hold a disputation with him, why does he not come to Zürich? The door is open. Fifth, Zwingli moves on to the question of method, how does Eck hope to set up a tribunal that will judge the Scriptures; does he not know that according to canon law, no one is allowed to judge the Scriptures "weder allein der Papst"?

God's word is not subject to the same rules as human language and differences of interpretation cannot be settled by human judgement. Therefore, Zwingli suggests that Eck come to Zürich and that they hold a disputation based on the Holy Scripture. He who first shows himself unable to bring forward a Scriptural argument will be punished by the council. Eck can come with the Confederates certainly but there are to be no judges.

Sixth, a direct challenge—is Eck a *confidant* of the Holy Spirit? Is it that that makes him so certain that he is defending the true, old doctrine against Zwingli? And what is the old doctrine? Does Eck know of a doctrine older than that of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit? The old doctrine is the one given by God in the Bible and that is much older than Eck's Fathers and tradition.

Thus, politically Zwingli has answered Eck's challenge and theologically he has set up an opposition between ceremonies and tradition on the one hand, and Scripture and God on the other. Far from considering himself a heretic, Zwingli makes it plain by direct appeal to Scriptural authority that his is the older and the more orthodox doctrine. What remains open is the question of how Scriptural authority should be adduced, if tradition is to be disregarded.

Eck replied on 18 September 1524. As his reply is well summarised by von Muralt,³ I shall confine myself to repeating here only the main points of his *Ablainung der schantschrift, die Ulrich Zwingli von Zürich in antwort weyss hat lassen aussgeen*. . . . In fact, all Eck is concerned to do is to affirm that it is Zwingli, and not he, who is the heretic, and who should be pursued and condemned by the appropriate authorities. There can be no question of Eck coming to Zürich to dispute with Zwingli on the latter's terms, nor is there any question of seeking any grounds, however slender, for an accord. Zwingli is to be tried for his heretical beliefs.

The confederate "Tagsatzung" of Frauenfeld decided on 13 October 1524 to react favourably to Eck's letter and his offer to dispute with Zwingli. Baden was designated as the place where the disputation was to be held; both protagonists, Eck and Zwingli, were to be issued letters of safe conduct.⁴

The danger for Zwingli was obvious, and the need for a theological reaction great. Thus, sometime between 18 September and 6 November 1524, Sebastian

³ *Die Badener Disputation*, 27 ff.

⁴ *von Muralt*, 30.

Hofmeister⁵ (pastor in Schaffhausen, chronicler of the Ilanz Disputation) published, with Zwingli's agreement, the hitherto unstudied *Antwort uff die ableinung doctor Eckens von Ingolstatt, gethon uff die widergeschrifft Huldrych Zwinglis uff sin Missuen an ein lobliche Eydgenschafft durch Sebastianum Hofmeister*.

The *Antwort* is interesting for several reasons, and not just for the passionate nature of Hofmeister's defence. The Schaffhausen preacher shows himself to be very well informed about Eck's theological controversies; he is also very clear on the superiority of the Scripture over tradition and constantly invokes the ultimate authority of the Bible. Although of no great quality theologically, the *Antwort* is very revealing of the spirit that animated Zwingli's supporters.

The initial point that Hofmeister makes is that Eck has fundamentally no good will. He claims to act in the interests of Christianity against the subversive heretic Zwingli; however, anyone who has read both Eck's and Zwingli's pamphlets will have no difficulty seeing who is the more Christian of the two. What could Zwingli say when accused of heresy? Hofmeister draws a comparison between his two contemporaries and the relationship between Rufinus and Jerome. He addresses Eck/Rufinus thus:

You have besmirched Jerome with the insufferable name of heresy, dear Rufinus, and you must now allow the good Jerome to wash off the filth that you stuck on to him.⁶

Not only is Eck not a true Christian, he is a veritable Epicurean and a sophist whose writings do not contain so much as a shred of Scriptural evidence. Whenever challenged with arguments drawn from the Scripture, he cannot withstand them. This is only one of many proofs that the Ingolstadt theologian is not a Christian, and therefore, it is *he*, not Zwingli, who is to be considered a heretic.

Eck says he is a Christian, says Hofmeister ironically, because he lectures daily on St. John's Gospel in Ingolstadt. Yet he cannot possibly understand the fourth Gospel; he does not know on what he lectures. All he can do is refer his readers to diverse Fathers of the Church—Ambrose, Jerome, Leo, whose originals he has never seen, although he claims to know Augustine better than Erasmus. Thus, he feeds his public human inventions and not divine doctrine.⁷

⁵ On Hofmeister, former Franciscan, turned ardent supporter of Zwingli, participant in the Zürich Disputations and reformer of Schaffhausen, see DHBS (Neuchâtel, 1928), vol. 4, 137.

⁶ Blv.: "Darumb lieber Ruffine hastu Hieronymum mit unlydenlichen namen der ketzery begossen, ach so gedulde ouch das der gut Hyeronymus solchen treck mit dem du jn bekleibet hast, wider abwüsche."

⁷ B3v.–B4r.: "Endtlich bewysst sich Eck ein Christ zessin, uss dem so er zu Ingoldstatt, daz Evangelion Joannis teglich ordinarie liset, wenn wir gloub Eck nit wüsstind, wie du so toll und ungerlich im heyligen Joanne umbgast, so woltend wir dich von herten beweinen, aber wir tund dir die eer an, daz wir nit glauben dich den verstand des Evangelions Joannis zehan, besunder wir rechnend dich in dero zal, von welchen Esa. schrybt. 5 etc. 'Die sehen nüt sehend, hören nüt hörend . . .' und ursachet uns, das du Joannem lesende nit leisist, dann du berümbst dich Joannem zelesen, so ist es leyder das Continuum Theologie, uss dem schirmestu här wie ein blinder Andabat und schryest 'domini mei,

This point is capital if we are to understand the difference in Zwingli's and his opponents' approach to patristic tradition. Hofmeister does not deny out of hand the authority of Ambrose, Jerome, and Leo. What he is complaining about is that their writings, sometimes known only at second hand, are allowed to usurp and overshadow the Scripture which is hardly referred to by the Roman Catholic teachers. Thus, a lecture or a *Commentary* on the fourth Gospel becomes, in Eck's hands, a string of references to the Church Fathers. The accusation is not unjust, if we consider the manner in which Eck uses patristic quotations in the *Enchiridion* and in his earlier works such as the *Chrysopassus*.⁸

Pursuing the line of *argumenta ad hominem*, Hofmeister then refers to the Ingolstadt University's controversy with Argula von Grumbach. In September 1523, in fact, a young Ingolstadt theologian, Arsacius Seehofer, was made to recant his Lutheran beliefs by Eck. The case won the sympathy of a Bavarian noblewoman, Argula von Grumbach, who wrote and had printed on 20 September 1523, an open letter to the University of Ingolstadt. The pamphlet was entitled *Ein christlich und ernstlich Ermahnung und Geschrift Frau Regulen von Grupach . . . an die gantzen Universitet und hohe Schul zu Ingelstat . . .* and was a plea for clemency. Argula never received a proper answer to her pamphlet, but her husband Friedrich von Grumbach (an orthodox Catholic) was fired from the Bavarian Court, at the request of Leonhard von Eck, chancellor of Ingolstadt.⁹

Johann Eck himself was not *directly* involved in the controversy, nor were either the *Ermahnung* or any of Argula's subsequent pamphlets addressed to him personally. However, Hofmeister in reporting the incident makes it seem as if Argula von Grumbach had got the better of Eck in a theological dispute. Eck would have done better, he says, to have proved his superiority to a woman in his own home town, and only then run to Zürich to dispute with the manly and brave Zwingli. How did Eck expect Zwingli to fear him, in spite of all his Latin, Greek, and Hebrew learning, when it turns out that in Eck's country women who speak only Bavarian are more learned than he? Hofmeister then (rightly) warns Eck not to confuse Zwingli with Arsacius Seehofer with whom the Ingolstadt theologian could do what he wanted.¹⁰

audite quid dicat sacer Ambrosius, barbatus Hieronymus, sanctissimus Papa Leo etc.' und hast doch dero originalen noch wie kein gutten morgen gewünschet, wie wol du dich hoch ufblassest, du habist Augustinum vil flissiger dann Eras. Roterd. gelesen, und also fettigst dine zuloser mit dem brot, das Gott hiess Ezechielem bachen, Ezech.4, das ist menschen kat."

⁸ *Chrysopassus* (Augustae Vindelicorum . . . 1514).

⁹ On Argula von Grumbach, see especially Paul A. Russell, *Lay Theology in the Reformation. Popular Pamphleteers in Southwest Germany 1521-1525*, Cambridge, 1986, *passim*; Alice Zimmerli-Witschi, *Frauen in der Reformationszeit*, Zürich, 1981, p. 57-70 and its bibliography.

¹⁰ B4r.-v.: "Aber doch so wäre ye diner hochgelerte wolangstanden, das du vorhin die wybs bild by dir überwunden hettist, als namlich die edlen Christenlichen keyserin frouw Argulam von Brombach (!) ein geborne von Stouff, und demnach erst gen Zürich gerungen, mit dem manhaften Zwinglen zu disputieren. Wie wolte er dich fürchten, latinisch, grekisch und hebreisch gelert, so doch die wyber

Personal insults apart, it is obvious that Hofmeister, like Zwingli, is preoccupied by the question of judges. He does not deny that the Scripture prescribes judges and cites several appropriate passages (D2r.). However, the problem is not whether there should be judges but who the judges should be.

Eck thinks it should be the Church. Fine, says Hofmeister, but Eck cannot mean by "the Church" here the pope, the bishops, and the prelates, while he appeals to the judgement of the Confederation which has nothing to do with such creatures.¹¹

In fact, pursues Hofmeister, one could easily find oneself in an infinite regress situation. Supposing Eck were to name some judges and Zwingli were to do the same, the judges would certainly disagree about which of the two, Eck or Zwingli, spoke according to the Scripture. One would thus need to appoint judges to judge the judges and so on and so on.¹² After a spirited accusation about corruption of the Leipzig judges by Eck and an equally spirited defence of the integrity of the judges appointed by Zwingli in the Zürich Disputation, Hofmeister points out that it is the spontaneous proclamation of God's word by common laypeople in Zürich that annoys Eck, and makes him wish not to hold the disputation there: "I promise you that any common artisan would get the better of you in any disputation held in Zürich, even if Zwingli were dead. You avoid Zürich not because you think it in error but because God's word is proclaimed there more loudly and more piously by the common people than in any number of great schools."¹³

The final paragraphs of the pamphlet are taken up with an ironic definition of exactly what constitutes the ancient faith that Eck boasts of upholding against Zwingli's heresies. The articles on the mass and the worship of the saints have nothing to do with the true ancient faith that is grounded in the Scripture, ends Hofmeister and invites Eck again to come to Zürich to hold the disputation.¹⁴

in dinem land gelerter sind dann du, und doch allein ir beyerische spraach bruchend? Aber doch günstiger Eck, ich warne dich, wie der truw Eckart, das du dich wol fürschist, dann warlich du wirst an dem dapffren Huldreichum Zwinglem nit den jungen frommen Meister Arsacius Seehofer finden . . ."

¹¹ D2v.: "Welche aber di erkenner sin söllind, daran liegt es. Eck meiner die kilch. Gefellt uns wol, dann er ye hie nit kan die kilchen für Bapst, Bischoff und zesamet gerottet geistlich Prelaten nemmen, die wyl er selbs die erkanntuss gmeiner Eydgnschafft heimsetzt, die diser glychen larren keine sind."

¹² D3r.: "Dann wo Eck dry oder vier erkenner naeme, Zwinglin ouch so vil, sy wurdind erkieset von jnen, oder darbotten, gilt glych, so möchtind die richter als uneinss werden als die sächer. Die sprechend: Ecks brucht sichs Gots wort. Die andren: Zwinglin brucht sich des gotsworts. Darumm not wurde richter über richter unnd den erkennen and erckennen setzen; und käemind nimmer mer zeenden."

¹³ D5r.-v.: "Ich dörfte dir verheissen, das dich des fäblers schnider und schumacher ze Zürich überwinden wurdind, ob glych Zwingli tod wäre. Du schüchst warlich Zürich nit von unverstandes wegen sonder von dess wegen, dass das götlich wort da selbstheiliger und luterer von den schlechten leyen gehandelt unnd verstanden wirdt, weder von vilen langen schülen."

¹⁴ D5v.: "Aber die artickel des Christenlichen gloubens habend ein mass und regel, namlich die heylig göttlich unbetrogenlich leer Gottes, die uns ein krafft zum ewigen."

THE DISPUTATION IS ARRANGED

On 5 November 1524, the Frauenfeld "Tagsatzung" sent Zwingli Eck's unpublished letter of 26 September to them, demanding a disputation, together with their own decision of 13 October.¹⁵ On 6 November of the same year Zwingli's reply was printed in Zürich by Johann Hager. The pamphlet was entitled *Zwinglis antwurt dem eersamen rat zu Zürich ylendt ggeben über anzeigen Eggen geschrift und nünner orten anschlag zu Frowenfeld besehen*.¹⁶ Zwingli begins by thanking the Confederates for sending him the letters but he says that he finds their suggestion "seltsam." The very same Confederates, after all, forbade their priests under pain of losing their benefices to attend the Zürich Disputations. Second, Zwingli has invited Eck to come to Zürich and hold the debate there and to bring with him a Confederate delegation if he so wished. Third, he will not have the Church authorities (pope, bishops, prelates, etc.) as judges; his sole judge and arbiter is the Holy Scripture. Fourth, as Eck does not want to come to Zürich, why should he, Zwingli, go to a place appointed by Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwald, Zug, and Fribourg to be judged as a heretic? Fifth, the Confederates are not practising what they have been preaching. Whenever there was a question of any kind of religious colloquy, it was understood that it would involve only the Swiss political authorities and theologians. The Baden Disputation, as planned, is no meeting of the Swiss; it is a colloquy initiated by an outsider, Johann Eck of Ingolstadt. If Eck is to teach either him, Zwingli, or the Confederates anything, he is to do it in Zürich and nowhere else.¹⁷ Indeed, so as not to offend the Confederates, Zwingli undertakes to ask Eck once more to come to Zürich. As for the question of judges, Zwingli attempts to dismiss it as a nonproblem. Who were the judges when Peter disputed with Simon Magus? Who were the judges when Paul argued against the Jews? Only the Holy Scripture can be the judge. At the end of the short document Zwingli undertakes to defend and justify his doctrine before anyone and everyone in Zürich.

On 6 November 1524, the Zürich "Grosset Rat" decided to invite Eck to dispute in Zürich. A letter of safe conduct was made out and sent with a messenger to Ingolstadt. Eck gave a short answer on 17 November saying that he could hardly accept the invitation of the city of Zürich while still waiting for an official reply from the Confederation.¹⁸

Although neither Zwingli's pamphlet nor Eck's reply are of any great theological import, they nonetheless point to a fundamental difference in the conception of what and where is the true Church, and who is the final arbiter of truth.

¹⁵ See von Muralt, 33; *Schuler-Schulthess* 2:2.410 ff.

¹⁶ Text in *Schuler-Schulthess* 2:2.411-414.

¹⁷ *Schuler-Schulthess* 2:2.413: "Will Üch und mich Egg oder iemand anderer unterrichten, mag es nienen anderst beschehen weder hie ze Zürich."

¹⁸ *Schuler-Schulthess* 2:2.414-415.

Zwingli's doctrine on this was not to finally win the day until the Berne Disputation of 1528.

It is plain that Zwingli's counterproposals cooled down the general enthusiasm for a disputation in 1524. That they should have done so is indicative of a lack of certainty as to who or what should constitute the ultimate authority in matters of doctrine. This uncertainty meant finally, as we shall see, that the Baden Disputation could only constitute an apparent victory for the Roman Catholics.

Von Muralt attributes the lull of 1524 to diverse political rather than religious causes, which need not be reexamined here. There is, however, no doubt that Zwingli's refusal was operative in the decision to postpone the disputation, and that Eck's and the Confederates' activities during 1524 stood in the shadow of the "Regensburger Convent" held from 28 June to 8 July, at which Johann Fabri, representative of the Bishop of Constance, was particularly active.¹⁹

As for the main theological issues in 1524, they could be reduced to the problem of authority. In the spring of 1525, the situation became more complicated both theologically and politically speaking, as the abolition of the mass in Zürich caused a resurgence of opposition to Zwingli within the canton. On 11 April 1525, the undersecretary Joachim am Grüt argued in a Council meeting that Zwingli's doctrine was unchristian. This was enough to show Zwingli's German and Confederate opponents that the problem of real presence constituted a chink in the reformer's armour. Things became potentially more dangerous for Zwingli as am Grüt, after being sent to Rome to ask the Pope Clement VII to pay the overdue wages of the mercenaries, not only did not fulfil his mission but complained long and loud to the Pope about Zwingli's heretical teaching on the eucharist.

In his report of 14 November, am Grüt then informed the city authorities that the Pope would pay the wages only when Zürich returned to the true faith. On 11 December of the same year, Zürich was informed of the Pope's demand that a disputation be held on the controversial points of doctrine. Zürich authorities reacted cautiously, asking the Pope that the disputation be held within the city and that a theologian be sent to Zürich with am Grüt. The latter finally returned alone without the mercenaries' wages and without a papal disputant.

It is doubtful that am Grüt's Roman intrigues gave a new lease of life to Eck's and Fabri's disputation projects. However, they would have shown them that Zwingli was far from invulnerable in his own city at the very time when the differences between his and Luther's doctrine of the eucharist were fast becoming apparent.²⁰

¹⁹ Cf. von Muralt, 17 ff.

²⁰ On this issue, see Köhler's classic but dated study, and also: Martini Bucer's *Enarratio in Evangelium Iohannis*, ed. I. Backus (Leiden, 1988), 224–286 and notes; Helmut Gollwitzer, *Zur Auslegung von Joh. 6 bei Luther und Zwingli* in: *In Memoriam Ernst Lohmeyer* hg. W. Schmauch, Stuttgart, 1951, 143–168; I. Backus, *Polemic, Exegesis and Ontology. Bucer's Interpretation of John 6:52, 53, 64 before and after the Wittenberg Concord* in: *The Bible in the Sixteenth Century*, ed. D. Steinmetz, Durham, N.C., 1990, 167–180.

However, the organisation of a disputation was no simple matter as there was no perfect concord in religious matters between the twelve cantons. Zug, Fribourg, Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwald wanted to break with Zürich and condemn its Reformation; while Berne, Glarus, Basle, Solothurn, Schaffhausen, and Appenzell wanted to carry on negotiating.²¹ Moreover, the position of Basle, and more particularly Berne, was becoming increasingly ambiguous.

Eck wrote again to the Confederates on 25 October 1525 offering his services for a disputation with Zwingli, and the Diet took official note of the letter on 7 December. On 18 January 1526, a meeting was fixed for 1 February in Baden to discuss the details of the disputation. Johann Fabri who took part in the Lucerne Diet of 18 January also offered his services. Finally, the holding of the disputation in Baden was approved by the majority of cantons at the assembly of 20 March 1526, held in Lucerne. The disputation was to begin on 16 May. Invitations were to be sent to the bishops of Constance, Basle, the Valais, and Chur (and to their entourages); the Bishop of Constance was to summon both Eck and Fabri. Safe conduct was to be granted to them and to Zwingli and the Zürich delegation. Luther's followers were to be particularly encouraged to attend.

There is no doubt that a disputation or exchange of views in the true meaning of the word was not intended. Zwingli was to come to Baden to be condemned just as Luther had been condemned at Worms. That is at any rate, how Zwingli and his councillors saw the situation, especially in view of the fact that Zürich had been excluded from the Diet assemblies. His councillors, however, saw no objection to the reformer presenting himself at a disputation held in Zürich, Berne, or St. Gallen.

Zwingli's own objections²² to attending the Baden Disputation hinged round three main themes. First, he disapproved of the choice of place as partisan; second, he refused to have judges appointed over the Holy Scripture and third, he would not attend any public disputation where the Scripture was not the sole criterion of truth.

Zwingli's formal refusal took the form of a pamphlet entitled *Eine gründliche geschrift an gemein eidgnossen der XII orten und zuogewandten die disputation gen Baden uf den 16. tag may angeschlagen betreffende*.²³ It was dated 21 April 1526, printed in Zürich by Johann Hager, and adds nothing new to what we already know about Zwingli's view of the disputation, which was finally to be held without him.

PAMPHLETS BY FABRI AND MURNER BEFORE THE DISPUTATION

Before tackling the disputation itself, the disputants' methods, and the issues raised, it would be interesting to consider the final predisputation controversies between Zwingli on the one hand and Fabri and Murner on the other.

²¹ On this see notably *von Murali*, 44 ff.

²² *Z* 5.32–33.

²³ *Z* 5.1–27.

Fabri attacked on 16 April 1526—shortly after the disputation was definitely fixed to be held in May—with a bilingual Latin-German pamphlet entitled *Ein Sandbrieff doctor Johann Fabri an Ulrich Zwingli, Maister zu Zürich, von wegen der künfftigen Disputation, so durch gmain aidgnossen der XII orten auf den 16. tag may nächstkünfftig gen Baden im Aergöw fürgenommen und ausgeschriben ist*.²⁴

On what theological front has Fabri decided to combat Zwingli? First, he asserts, according to Zwingli the Church and all its *theodidaktai* have been wrong for over a thousand years. The Holy Spirit suddenly decided to come to Zwingli; the blood spilled by the Christian martyrs being irrelevant. Thus, in a word, Zwingli's doctrines are a novelty that go against the commonly accepted teaching of the Church. Moreover, the ultimate test of heretical doctrine, Zwingli often contradicts himself. "And I will make a point of demonstrating that these writings of yours [Zwingli] and opuscles contradict themselves on several important points of our faith and God's truth."²⁵ Given that Zwingli contradicts himself, his doctrine gives the faithful no firm basis to stand on. Zwingli, being learned in the Scripture, must know that the word of God is something enduring, and not a reed in the wilderness that bends with every wind.²⁶

Zwingli's doctrines contradict not only themselves, but are also in conflict with the teachings of those whom Zwingli considers as his supporters and brothers—an overt reference to the eucharistic quarrel. Third (and here Fabri appears to contradict his own earlier contention that Zwingli is an innovator), Zwingli is simply renewing and repeating heresies that have been present in the Church of Christ since the Ascension. Fourth, Fabri says he will show that Zwingli's interpretation of the Scripture is offensive to all the holy doctors of the Church, and the closer they are to the apostles' time, the more offensive they find it.²⁷

Fifth, Fabri makes the point about the relationship between the Scripture and the Church with the aid of John 14:16–17. If Christ left his Spirit, the Church could not be wrong, which is what is implied by Zwingli's books. Moreover, Fabri will show that the Zürich reformer does not know the Apostles' Creed, which every infant knows, and yet dares glory in God.

Finally Fabri will prove that Zwingli's doctrines go against the very Scripture

²⁴ Latin title: *Epistola doctoris Iohannis Fabri ad Ulricum Zwinglium magistrum Thuricensem de futura disputatione Baden in Ergau die XVI Maii habenda*, s.l., s.a. The German version contains a colophon "Geben zu Tübingen auff den sechszehenden tag des Monats Aprilis, Anno 1526" and is printed in *Schuler-Schulthess* 2:2.429–436.

²⁵ *Schuler-Schulthess* 2:2.432: "und ich will dich desselbigen vor der menge beweisen, dass dieselbigen bücher und büchlin in vil und treffentlichen puncten unsers glaubens und der göttlichen warhait anander widerwärtig seyen . . ."

²⁶ *Ibid.*: "verhoff, so ich das beweis, wurdest aus der Gschrift lernen und erkennen, dass das wort, auch die warhait gottes beständig und ewigwärtig seyn müssen, und nit also wie das ror in der wüste von allen winden sollen getriben werden."

²⁷ *Schuler-Schulthess* 2:2.433: "und ic näher diser leerer der zwölff boten zeiten gewesen, so erschaint sich aus derselbigen gegen deinen büchern ic länger und ic meer, dass sy dir widerwärtig seyen, und dich und deinen auslegenden gaist vertreibend und nit leiden mögend, das doch seltsam ist zu hören."

whose authority he claims as unique. There follow more concrete accusations, most of them to do with eucharistic practices, a particularly sensitive point about which Fabri would have been informed by am Grüt. Thus he reproaches Zwingli first for establishing his own aberrant *Canon of the Mass* and then saying in the *Commentarius*, that he thought that Christ's body and blood were not really present in the eucharist. Then instead of giving the faithful in Zürich the sacrament of the body of Christ, Zwingli gave them simply bread "als ob sy hund wärend." Even the Wittenbergers have admitted that in his eucharistic doctrine Zwingli is nothing more than a sophist and a hypocrite.

The final accusation: having been the cause or the occasion of the rebaptism of several of his brethren, Zwingli then had them thrown into prison, quite forgetting that he had preached freedom of religious belief against Fabri. Zwingli's behaviour mirrors that of ancient heretics, who killed all those who dared disagree with whatever heresiarch was in power.²⁸

True, the *Sandbrieff* is short, and consists mainly of threats to prove as opposed to proofs. However, we see slowly emerging a line of attack that will prove successful in the Baden Disputation itself. Fabri has seen the main weakness in Zwingli's theological method, weakness that consists of Zwingli being unable to define the relationship between Scripture and tradition, and having seen it, makes the most of it. He thus drives a wedge between tradition and Scripture and presents Zwingli as someone who interprets the Holy Writ according to some dubious personal revelation, so that he remains ignorant of even the Apostles' Creed. The subjective (and therefore necessarily heterodox) nature of Zwingli's teachings is confirmed by his doctrine of real presence in which he cannot agree even with his fellow heretic, Luther. Interestingly enough, Fabri does not feel any need to prove anything to Zwingli; it is the latter who is heterodox and aberrant.

It is no wonder that Zwingli felt compelled to reply in some detail. His answer, *Über den ungesandten Sandbrieff Fabers Zwinglis Antwort*, is dated 30 April 1526²⁹ and is twice as long as the *Sandbrieff* itself. Although Zwingli takes Fabri up on all sixty-five points of the German version of the *Sandbrieff*, I shall mention here only the general themes of his reply. He defends himself vigorously against the accusations of innovation: no, he has not founded a new Church; he has planted in the Church of Christ and intends to carry on doing so with God's help. The holy martyrs and doctors of the Church that Fabri refers to did not spill their blood for the Roman Church.³⁰

Zwingli defends at great length his doctrine of the eucharist, even demonstrating to Fabri, in two syllogisms, that if the bread were Christ's body, then the bread would have been crucified for us.³¹ The reformer also defends in some detail the

²⁸ *Schuler-Schulthess* 2:2.435-436.

²⁹ *Z* 5.34-94; *Schuler-Schulthess* 2:2.436-453.

³⁰ *Z* 5.46-47.

³¹ *Z* 5.51.

practices introduced in Zürich, and discusses at length the proposed disputation, once again returning to the question of judges.

Among the more specific replies we might mention is Zwingli's challenge to Fabri that he should have long ago pointed out the contradictions in Zwingli's writings. As for the early Fathers, the earliest of them would have agreed with Zwingli absolutely. Far richer in theological content is Zwingli's answer to Fabri's fifth objection, "how could Christ have allowed his Church to err for so long?" And where is Christ's Church? asks Zwingli. Fabri assumes that it is the Roman Church. In fact, the Church of Christ is the real faithful who have true belief in Christ, in conformity with the Scripture. Zwingli implies that those can be found at any point in history in any Christian community, even in one that errs with regard to external practices.³²

Zwingli also does his best to show that he is not responsible for the Anabaptist movement. Although outspoken enough, the *Reply* is theologically neither full nor clear. Zwingli does not answer the point about the Apostles' Creed but states globally that the earliest Church Fathers would have agreed with his doctrines. Although he himself knows full well what he means by "arguing from the Scripture," nothing in his *Reply* to Fabri would help a supporter (such as Oecolampadius) who wanted to learn his theological method.

Even before Zwingli's answer came out, Fabri had already written his second pamphlet against the reformer. It was entitled *Ein freintliche geschriff Doctor Johann Fabri an Ulrich Zwingly maister zu Zürich, darinn angezeygt würdet, wie Zwingly unbilllicher weiss und on gnügsam ursach uff angesetzte disputation nit kommen will*. The pamphlet was in the form of a "dialogue;" Fabri extracted the main points out of Zwingli's *Eine freundliche Schrift an die Eidgenossen* which had appeared on 21 April 1526.

In his preface Fabri says that he had just received Zwingli's *Freundtliche Schrift* and finds that the reformer is fleeing even before the start of the battle. The pamphlet contains little of substance theologically.

He quotes only the first part of Zwingli's demand that the Scripture should provide the sole criterion of truth in the disputation: "no writings other than those of the New and Old Testament are to be used in the disputation."³³ The second part of Zwingli's statement that concerns the abuse of canon law texts which are frequently contrary to the word of God is left out. Neither is mention made by Fabri of Zwingli's second point that explains, admittedly briefly, what he means by arguing from the Scripture—"there where God's word is obscure, it should be explained with the aid of a clearer passage,"³⁴ thus attempting to avoid

³² Z 5.72 ff.

³³ *Ein freintliche geschriff*, A4r.; Z 5.12: "Für das erst, so ist not, das man öffentlich haruslass, das in der disputation ghein andre geschriff gelte weder die, so in nüwem und altem testament biblisch und gottes wort ist."

³⁴ Z 5.12: "... ob gottes wort an eim ort dunckel ist, usslege mit gottes wort uss eim andren ort."

the charge of arbitrary and subjective interpretation. Thus, Fabri answers Zwingli only partially, making it seem as if the reformer with his demand for the Scripture as the sole criterion of truth were doing no more than stating the obvious. Interestingly, Fabri's reply is made up almost entirely of Biblical extracts.³⁵

Zwingli's third point concerning the appointment of judges is treated in a similarly tendentious fashion. Fabri asserts bluntly that the Confederates' object is not to judge the word of God but to judge Zwingli's all too human heresy and open his eyes to the truth.³⁶ He also accuses Zwingli of completely misunderstanding Ambrose's decision in the matter of Auxentius.

Again, the object of the work is not primarily theological. Fabri simply wants to force Zwingli into the position of a heretic who has to be tried by ecclesiastical court, in a manner analogous to Auxentius, the fourth century Arian.

At the beginning of May, Thomas Murner came into the fray, wishing to be involved in the disputation, the last details of which were to be worked out at the Diet of 2 May.³⁷ At the end of April the Franciscan published one pamphlet in Latin composed of several pieces, and one in German entitled *Ein brieff den Stengen eren*. The Latin work was composed of (1) *Erasmi Roterodami de sacrosancta synaxi et unionis sacramento corporis et sanguinis Christi ad amicum expostulatio*; (2) *Breve apostolicum Clementis pape Septimi, Thuregios ab impia Lutherana perfidia et heretica pravitae paterne revocantis* (of 11 December 1525); (3) *Murneri responsio libello cuidam insigniter et egregie stulto Ulrici Zwyngel apostate heresiarche, ostendens Lutheranam doctrinam infamiam irrogare et verbum Dei humanum iudicem pati posse* (against Zwingli's *Subsidium*); and (4) *Murneri responsio altera contumelioso cuidam libello compilato Sebastiani Hoffmeyster in Schaffhusen expulso Colloquium in Ylandts (ut nominat) Christianum adserentis* (against Hofmeister's *Acta und Handlung . . . zu Ilantz im Grawen Pundt*).

These titles give more than an adequate idea of Murner's line of attack: it was important to drive a wedge between Erasmus and Zwingli, to appeal (via the Papal Brief) once again to the Zürich population divided over the eucharist, to show that it was Zwingli and not the Roman Catholic party who was subjecting the word of God to human judgement, and to discredit the Ilanz Disputation. What Murner was not overtly profiting from was the split between Luther and Zwingli. That side of the argument was obviously left to Fabri. It is worth noting that the *Responsio* contained for the first time Murner's forty "Ehrlos" declarations against Zwingli, intended to condemn the reformer as infringing upon various laws.

³⁵ *Ein freintliche geschriff*, A4v.: "Er will das unser liecht allweg brynne, ia darumb ist er kommen in dise welt, das es brynnen solle, in summa was dir recht und zugeben ist, wellent wir auch brauchen und nichts anders."

³⁶ BLr.: ". . . und ist aber gar nit die meynung, sonder deinem eygensynnigen kopff und letzen auch falschen, verdampfen verstand wollent wir urteilen, darumb komm allein und hör die stymme deiner obren und brüder. Wir wöllent nit den geyren rupffen, sonder dir die schiepplen wie Paulo von den augen schütten."

³⁷ *von Muralt*, 74 ff.

These articles were read out by Murner during the Disputation itself on 7 June 1526. They were subsequently published in a German version in *Ein warhaftiges verantworten* (July 1526) and again in Latin in the *Causa helvetica* (published after the Berne Disputation). In addition, the *Responsio* contained Murner's twelve articles on the sacrifice of the mass.

The German pamphlet entitled *Ein brieff den Strengen eren not festen Fursuhtigen Ersamen wysen der XII örter einer löblichen eydtgnoschafft*³⁸ is dated "am abent Philippi und Jacobi In dem iar des herren 1526." Murner is thus addressing directly the Diet of 2 May 1526. The letter is no more, no less, than a request for Zwingli to be present at the Disputation, with Murner taking a position with regard to various conditions put forward by Zwingli. The first of these, says Murner, is that nothing should be brought forward against Zwingli other than God's word out of the Old and the New Testament. Contrary to what he will say in 1528 after the Berne Disputation in *Hie würt angezeigt*,³⁹ here Murner gladly accepts.⁴⁰ He also accepts the second condition that the Scripture be interpreted by the Scripture, but firmly rejects Zwingli's point about the judges and cites eleven passages out of the New Testament which admit that judgement, in some cases, be handed over to the Church. He does, however, agree with Zwingli's fourth point that the articles forming the object of the disputation should be published. Murner's letter suggests absolute confidence and gives a clue as to what will in fact happen at the Baden Disputation; Zwingli's doctrines will be combatted, at least partly, with Zwingli's own arms.

It was Fabri's, not Murner's, attacks that most enraged Zwingli and the Zürchers. Thus, on 15 May 1526, Zwingli published *Die ander geschrift Zwinglins an doctor Johannsen Faber. Die gibt antwurt über die Widergschrift der epistel, die Zwingli an die XII ort gmeiner eidgnoschafft am 21. tag aprellens ggeben hat im 1526 jar*.⁴¹ Although answering Fabri's accusations point-by-point, the pamphlet gives no further theological substance to Zwingli's views.

ECK'S PSEUDOLOGIA

A fortnight before the *Disputation*, on 5 May 1526, Eck published in Ingolstadt a pamphlet against Zwingli, which revealed his belligerent state of mind. The pamphlet was entitled *Die falsch on warhaftig verfürisch leer Ulrich Zwingli von Zurich, durch doctor Iohan Ecken ausszogen. Pseudologia Zwinglii*. As the pamphlet

³⁸ Printed in: *Thomas Murner im Schweizer Glaubenskampf* hgb. Wolfgang Pfeiffer-Belli, Münster i.W., 1939 (*Corpus Catholicorum*, Bd. 22).

³⁹ *Corpus Catholicorum* Bd. 22.70 f. There Murner claims that the Protestants have no right to establish the Scripture as the sole criterion of truth any more than an enemy whom one fights, has the right to impose a particular weapon to the exclusion of all the others.

⁴⁰ CC 22.3: "das nemment wir an gern zu thun und nit anders."

⁴¹ Z 5.109-170.

was completely misunderstood by Walther Köhler⁴² and by Leonhard von Muralt,⁴³ I propose to resummarise it here, paying attention not only to its contents but also to Eck's method. The pamphlet first of all reproduces the seven theses "des waren alten glauben" which Eck is to defend against Zwingli. The rest of the text is divided into six parts which are headed, respectively, (1) "The blatant untruths in Zwingli's writings" ("Mit was offentlichen unwarheiten Zwinglis geschrift gemengt"); (2) "How much untruth Zwingli inflicts upon the common Christian" ("Wie Zwingli mit unwarheit gmeinen Christen vil aufleget"); (3) "The untruths that Zwingli attributes to the Councils and to the doctors of the Church" ("Was Zwingli mit Unwarheit zumist den Concilien unnd Lernern der Kirchen"); (4) "How Zwingli has falsified and mangled the Hebrew Bible" ("Wie Zwingli die Bibel in hebräischer Sprache gefelscht und zerrissen hab"); (5) "How Zwingli contradicts himself so that it is impossible that his doctrine should have any lasting value" ("Wie Zwingli im selbs widerwertig, darum unmüglich das sein Leer bestendig sey"); and (6) "Unchristian and impious pronouncements by Zwingli" ("Unchristenlich und lesterlich reddees Zwinglis").

According to Köhler and von Muralt, parts one to four deal with Zwingli's doctrine of the eucharist. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. Each of the six parts contains a certain number of propositions apparently drawn from Zwingli's writings. Each proposition is then refuted by Eck. Although grouped under subject headings, the propositions, as we shall see, are of the most diverse sorts. However, Eck's basic concern is quite clear; he aims to show that Zwingli's doctrine is subversive, heretical, and that it contradicts not only the tradition of the early Church but also the Bible which Zwingli himself finds to be the ultimate criterion of truth. The pamphlet clearly has political implications; it was intended to set the tone for the disputation and to help bring about a condemnation of Zwingli analogous to the condemnation of Luther by the Diet of Worms.⁴⁴

The first section of *Pseudologia* is a curious mixture of articles, numbered one to thirty-eight, all extremely tendentious and certainly not extracted *verbatim* from Zwingli's works. Article one addresses the sign of the cross, which Zwingli considers to be a superstition. Eck comments that Zwingli is afraid of it, "wie ein Teüffel." Article two addresses the real presence; according to Zwingli no one has ever believed that Christ's body is physically and substantially in the sacrament. Eck's refutation is extremely short and insubstantial.⁴⁵ Article three is a restatement of Zwingli's belief that miracles are not given to confirm faith. If that is true, says Eck, then Christ was obviously lying when he said to the Jews "wolt ir mir nit glauben, so glaubt mein werken" [John 10:38]. Articles four to six concern

⁴² See Walther Köhler, *Zwingli and Luther: Ihr Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religiösen Beziehungen*. Bd.I, Leipzig, 1924, 172 ff.

⁴³ *Die Badener Disputation* 1526, 89 ff.

⁴⁴ Cf. von Muralt, 5 ff.

⁴⁵ A2v.: "das solchs nit war sey wissen all frommb christenn."

Zwingli's refutation of the sacrifice of the mass, articles seven to ten the worship of the saints. Article eleven points up the discrepancy between Zwingli's avowed belief in the truth of Luther's teaching and his disagreement with the Wittenberger over the eucharist and images.

Among the remaining articles in the first section we might note several points of disagreement, not on the intrinsic value, but on the correct interpretation of particular events in Church history. Thus, in article 20, according to Zwingli, the Fathers first of all accepted heretical baptism; it was a Council that rejected it. According to Eck, on the other hand, it was Cyprian who rejected heretical baptism and Augustine who restored it through a Council 150 years later.⁴⁶ Similarly in article 22, while Zwingli contends that Arius was overcome by arguments drawn from the Scripture and from the Scripture only, Eck says that Constantine convoked the oecumenical Council of Nicaea with the express purpose of condemning Arius. According to Zwingli in article 24, Augustine in the *Enchiridion* attacks the doctrine of purgatory. If Zwingli thinks so, says Eck, he should read Augustine's *Enchiridion* 2, 69.⁴⁷ In article 26, Zwingli asserts that it was Pelagius, a heretic, who imposed celibacy on priests, and Gregory the Great who did away with the injunction. Eck refers him to the *Decree of Gratian*⁴⁸ dist. 31 *Ante triennium*; there it is explained that Pelagius wanted *epistolers* to separate from their wives and that Gregory, on the other hand, allowed them to keep their wives so long as they did not become ordained.

In article 32 Zwingli says that the term *papa* (*bapst* in German) was quite unknown in the ancient Church and did not exist in Augustine's time. Eck points out that the term is used by Cyprian, who lived about a hundred years earlier than Augustine, in a letter to Cornelius.⁴⁹ While Eck's knowledge of sources shows itself to be better in this instance than Zwingli's, the converse is true of article 34 where Zwingli, referring to Suidas and Jerome, claims that the theological writer (pseudo-) Dionysius is not the Dionysius in *Acts*.⁵⁰ Zwingli's basic contention is of course correct. What is incorrect is his reference to Suidas, as the latter—this Eck is quick to point out—does consider the Dionysius who was converted by Paul the author of the *Celestial Hierarchy* and of the other works generally attributed to him.⁵¹

⁴⁶ *Pseudologia*, no. XX: "Cyprianus unnd ander habent den verworffen, den Augustinus in Consilio 150 iar darnach erhalten." Eck is referring to the anti-Donatist decisions of the synod of Carthage of 411.

⁴⁷ *Enchiridion* 18, CCL 46.87: "Tale aliquid etiam post hanc vitam fieri incredibile non est et utrum ita sit quaeri potest, et aut inveniri aut latere nonnullos fideles per ignem quendam purgatorium, quanto magis minusve bona pereuntia dilexerunt, tacito tardius citiusque salvari . . ."

⁴⁸ *Decretum Gratiani*, 1a pars, dist. XXXI, c. 1, Friedberg 1.111.

⁴⁹ Eck means *Ep.* 59, para. 14, CSEL 3:2.683.

⁵⁰ The article is drawn from *Christliche Antwort Zürichs an Bischof Hugo*, 1524, Z 3. 219–220, where Zwingli contends that Erasmus is not the sole author to have questioned the authenticity of Dionysius; Suidas and Jerome have also expressed doubts.

⁵¹ Cf. Suidas in *MPG* 117.1250–1251, or full version in: Suidas, *Lexicon graece et latine*, rec. G. Bernhardt, Halle, 1843, vol. 1, 1386–1393.

The readers of *Pseudologia* who are not yet convinced that Zwingli's doctrines are not merely heretical but simply wrong and founded on an inadequate knowledge of Christian tradition, can now go on to the second batch of propositions, put together by Eck in a more or less arbitrary fashion. Of the nine articles in part two, two concern the eucharist, three the worship of saints and images, one the marriage of priests, one good works, and one miracles. Although all the propositions (whether or not extracted *verbatim* from the writings of Zwingli) do represent his true teaching, they are brief enough to be open to any number of interpretations. Thus, for example, in article eight Zwingli is reported as asserting bluntly that "those who think that good works can earn us merit do away with God's grace."⁵² Eck's reply points up the grossness of the error; "we all confess against Pelagius that no good work or good intention is possible without God's grace; we recognise that God accepts our works solely because of his mercy and that he will reward them with the crown of righteousness."⁵³

The third subheading, as the title suggests, is a list of factual errors committed by Zwingli concerning Councils and the teachings of the Church. There are ten points dealing with real presence, marriage of priests, images, and baptism. The point made is fundamentally the same as in the first two sections; Zwingli is not only heretical, he is also completely ignorant of the very Christian tradition that he sets out to attack. Thus, for example, the "Zwinglian" part of article three states that Jerome slants the Scripture in favour of invocation of the saints (not an unfair comment). Eck's reply is that Jerome defended saint worship against the heretic Vigilantius from Scripture, so that it was accepted by all the Christians; it is thus Zwingli who slants the truth.

Most interesting is Eck's attempt to combat Zwingli on his own terrain in part four where he accuses the Zürich reformer of having falsified the Hebrew Bible. That part contains ten articles, or instances of Zwingli's mistranslation. How can someone who does not know Hebrew or who falsifies his translations deliberately decree what constitutes the true Church? Eck finds that he has proved conclusively that Zwingli's doctrine is both a deliberate falsification and a misunderstanding of the Bible, and the teaching of the Church. This will become quite clear in the course of the disputation, he says at the end of the tenth article.⁵⁴

In spite of this conviction Eck includes, just for good measure, a section on contradictions in Zwingli's theology which contains nine miscellaneous articles and a section entitled "Unchristenlich und lesterlich reddes Zwinglis" which consists mainly of extracts from Zwingli's teaching on the eucharist.

⁵² "Welche sich auff die verdinstliche werck lassent, die verwerffen die gnad Gott's."

⁵³ "Nit also, dan wir all bekennen wider Pelagium, das kein gutt werck, auch kein gut gedanc sey on die gnad gottes: und erkennen das Got auss seiner barmhertzigkeit annimpt unnser werck, die er belonen will mit der kron der gerechtighait."

⁵⁴ "Nun solt hernach volgen, wa Zwingli die text der Byblischn gschrift gefelscht hett, mit seinen bischofen. Auch wa er den heiligen lern und vetter gwalt het gethan, und ir wort und mainung gefelscht, das umb kurtze wegen underlassen ist: dan es wirt sich in der disputation wol zutragen."

Although Eck's replies to the propositions he has purportedly extracted *verbatim* from Zwingli's writings are by no means absurd, it is plain that the object of the pamphlet is not to engage in any theological debate (Eck will shortly have an occasion to do this *viva voce* anyway) but simply to discredit Zwingli further in the eyes of the public opinion.

THE COHERENCE OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC ATTACK

The theological stage for the disputation has now been set and the modern reader cannot help but be impressed by the coherence of the Roman Catholic attack which makes Zwingli's replies seem rather shadowy. His three main opponents—Eck, Fabri, and Murner—attack him on three fronts: the relationship between Scripture and tradition, the eucharist and the resulting division between him and Luther, and the legality of his actions. While the third point was crucial in Zwingli not coming to the disputation, the importance of the other two points in determining his absence remains unclear. Is it likely that Zwingli felt theologically ill prepared to defend himself against the onslaught of Eck?

If the pamphlets he published during the disputation are anything to go by, Zwingli's arguments will acquire solidity and sharpness during the debates themselves. We are thus justified in putting forward the hypothesis that Zwingli only started to devote serious thought to how his opponents' arguments were to be answered at the very moment when the Baden Disputation started, and that this contributed to its somewhat pathetic result.

II

The First Thesis of the Baden Disputation

21 May–8 June 1526

[*The Real Body and Blood of Christ Are Present
in the Sacrament of the Altar*]¹

It is interesting to see that not only the content of Eck's argument but also his method will undergo an evolution in the course of the debate. He starts off postulating the standard mediaeval doctrine of transsubstantiation as expounded in the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard, and by defending this doctrine with arguments drawn mainly from patristic tradition. As he sees his opponents incapable of applying their own style of argument "explaining Scripture by the Scripture," he makes Scriptural argumentation his own and shifts the focus of the argument to "can Christ's body and blood be simultaneously in more place than one." Thus assimilating Lutheran theology, Eck manages to completely discomfit his opponents. We shall here analyse in some detail the evolution of Eck's and his opponents' arguments.

PETER LOMBARD AGAINST AUGUSTINE

Defending the real presence, Eck argues that Christ left us his body and his blood in the sacrament. It is the duty of the Church to supervise this treasure and to defend it against the new teaching of the makers of false doctrines.

Against this argument drawn, we might remark incidentally, from the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard,² Oecolampadius replies at some length, but not directly. In-

¹ Cf. also Hendricks, 574: "Der waer fronlichnam Christi unnd sin blut ist gegenwertig im sacrament des altars." The text of the debates that I refer to here is that of the 1527 edition: *Die disputacion vor den xij orten einer loblichen eidgnoschafft, nämlich Bern, Lutzern, Ury, Schwytz, Underwalden ob und nidt dem kernwalt, Zug mitt den sampt usser en ampt Glaris, Basel, Friburg, Solothorn, Schaffhusen und Appenzell von wegen der einigkeit in christlichem glauben in iren landen und underthonen der fier bistumb Costenz, Basel, Losanen und Chur beschehen und in dem iar Christi unsers erlösers 1526 uff den 16. tag des meyens erhöret und zu Baden im ergow irer stattgehalten unnd vollendet.*

² Lib. IV, dist. XIII, cap. 1, *Quamcchi*, 312.

stead of taking up the central question of the role of the Church in administering the sacrament, he stresses that what the reformers teach is not new. They are hated only because they wish to add nothing to the Scripture and subtract nothing from it. He then cites Augustine's *Contra Regulam Fundamenti*³ in such a way as to evoke the doctrine of the "reliquiae Israel"⁴ much favoured by Luther:

. . . I must tell you, my respected friend, what Augustine says in his book *Contra Regulam Fundamenti*, which is based on the Scripture. He says that although there is sufficient wisdom in the Christian Church, only very few truly spiritual believers have access to it and recognise it. He takes *spiritual* in the sense of 'those having the Spirit of God' and not those in orders.⁵

It is interesting to note that Oecolampadius feels obliged to justify the *sola Scriptura* method by recourse to tradition, in this instance Augustine, and then has to justify his mention of Augustine by saying that the Church Father's pronouncement is based on the Scripture. While showing a basic diffidence about the *sola Scriptura* principle, Oecolampadius feels no hesitation about using his patristic source in a tendentious fashion. In *Contra Epistolam Fundamenti*, Augustine is emphasising not, as Oecolampadius would lead us to believe, the fact that only *the few* represent the true, the spiritual Church on this earth, but the opposite. He is in fact talking about the Church on this earth as a mixed body which has to be accepted as such.

Eck's reaction to this opening speech is, understandably, to ask his opponent not to be so prolix and to stick to the subject at hand (the eucharist). Oecolampadius retorts "scripturally," by citing 1 Corinthians 1:23 (A4r.)—"wir predigen iesum cristum den gecritzgeten, den iuden ein ergernis"—and explains that Christ's passion is the foundation not only of his doctrine of the eucharist "sonder aller miner leer." However, under pressure from Eck, his arguments thereafter become increasingly ontological with the Scripture being reduced to its traditional role. Indeed, it could be argued that Oecolampadius' concerns are not so very different from those of Berengarius of Tours some five centuries previously. Like his French "predecessor" (whose doctrine he would have known only through the *Ego Berengarius*, available in the *Decree of Gratian*), the Basle reformer stresses the basic unity of substance in the sacrament (Blr.) "dan Cristus mit sinem bruch hat disse zeichen

³ *Contra Ep. Fundamenti* IV, CSEL 25.251.: "In catholica enim ecclesia ut omittam sincerissimam sapientiam, ad cuius cognitionem pauci spirituales in hac vita perveniunt . . . ut ergo hanc omittam sapientiam, quam in ecclesia esse catholica non creditis, multa sunt alia, quae in eius gremio me iustissime teneant."

⁴ And indeed many fourteenth and fifteenth century theologians. Luther expresses it particularly clearly in *De servo arbitrio*, WA 18, p. 650 ff.

⁵ A2v.: ". . . ich mus da uwer lieb sagen ein spruch Augustini, ich mein er stand im Buch Contra Regulam Fundamenti. Dan es in der gschrift gründt, da spricht er das wie wol in der cristelichen kirchen die ware wisheit gnügsamlich erfunden wirt, so kommend doch zur sollichen wenig geistlichen und erkennens an einem kleinen teil. Er nembt da geistlich die den geist gottes habend, nit des stanndts halb."

geheilget, und so fil es ouch höher ding uns lert." He will not at any price separate the accidents, namely, the external appearances of something, from the substance to which they belong.⁶

ARISTOTLE, BERENGARIUS, AND THE REAL PRESENCE

It is no wonder that Eck accuses Oecolampadius and his party first of the error of Berengarius, and second of claiming exclusive ownership of Jesus Christ. Third, and most importantly, he makes the point that commemoration of the passion will be all the more solemn if Christ's body and blood are really present in the eucharist. The argument shifts from the Biblical to the philosophical with Eck neatly avoiding the issue of separation of substance from accidents. Oecolampadius for his part tries to argue theologically as he desperately attempts to justify the spiritual advantages of Christ's *absence* by referring to John 20:29 and 16:7:

Only one of Eck's arguments deserves consideration: his postulation that Christ's physical presence incites to greater devotion than mere memory. But this is not so, for the Lord says to Thomas: "blessed are those who do not see and still believe" [John 20:29], which shows that bodily presence is an obstacle in raising weaker men's minds to grasp heavenly things. For this reason the Lord also says, "if I do not go away, the Paraclete will not come" [John 16:7].⁷

Eck responds by pointing out, quite rightly, that Oecolampadius has not seized the point. Eck is not simply saying that Christ's presence is better than remembrance of his Passion; he is saying that the body and blood of Christ are more conducive to devotion than mere *elements*, the bread and the wine.

Oecolampadius in *De genuina* (L. Iv.) had already argued for the spiritual benefits of Christ's absence, without entering into nuances or details, but simply referring to John 16:7 as showing that it was necessary to remove Christ's physical presence so that the Spirit could come "corporalem Christi praesentiam subtrac-tum oportuit ut sanctus veniret Spiritus." In the Baden Disputation, Oecolampadius cannot find Scriptural passages suitable for answering Eck's objection. He is, moreover, quite incapable of elaborating a method of arguing solely or at least primarily on the basis of Scripture. He is thus forced to redefine *sacramentum*

⁶ "For Christ in the Institution sanctified the sign and so it instructs us of higher things." On this doctrine in Berengarius cf. Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi. The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge, 1991, 17 ff.

⁷ B4r.: "Ein ding ist von doctor Ecken für gehept zu der Sach dienende, das er vermeint liplich gegenwürt Christi diene zu grosser andacht dan die bloss gedechtnis, das wil aber sich nit erfinden, der her spricht zu Thoma: selig sind die do nit sechent und doch glauben [Job. 20:29], durch welches sehen wir erfunden das liplich gegenwürtigkeit den schwächeren menschen hinderniss bringt in erschwungung des gemiets zu den himlischen dingen, dorum ouch der her wyter spricht: 'es sy dan sach das ich hinweg gan so wurdte der tröster nit kummen' [Job. 16:7]."

(a non-Scriptural term, it might be noted) and in doing so, is again driven to using tradition:

We use the word *sacrament* in the same way as the Church, professing it to be a sacred sign. Augustine in book three of *De Trinitate* compares the three: the word, the Scripture and the sacrament, because all three teach us and allow us to accede to knowledge . . . he further teaches that we should worship all three with Christian freedom of reason and not with dumb or fleshly servitude. And he teaches Christian freedom, that our understanding be such that we do not rely on signs but use them to lead us to that which they signify. He also says that there is need for figures of speech and that we cannot adhere to the letter.⁸

It is Augustine's doctrine that provides the basis for Oecolampadius' affirmation that, in the Church, the bread of the eucharist has always been called a *sacrament* in the sense of a *sign* without any hint of the presence of Christ's body and blood. Traces of Berengarius' preoccupations and of his scholastic method persist.⁹

Eck sees the weakness of this approach and does not hesitate to exploit it. He considers his opponent's arguments to be completely inept. Everyone expected Oecolampadius to overthrow the doctrine of the real presence with arguments drawn solely from the Scripture, whereas in fact the Basle reformer takes Church practice as his point of departure and only creeps back to the Scripture at the end!¹⁰

On the following day Eck continues with a résumé of Oecolampadius' argument and picks up the discussion of the exact meaning of *sacramentum*. According to Eck it consists of two things (1) the external sign (bread and wine), and (2) that which is signified by it (Christ's body and blood). The Roman Catholic theologian then turns both the "spirituality" and the Augustine arguments against Oecolampadius. The latter, says Eck, refers to Augustine so as to deny the elevation of the host, claiming (with the support of the Church Father) that it is important that Christ's body be venerated in the heart. Eck argues in reply that Augustine in *De doctrina christiana* criticises the Jews who could not rise above the physical aspect

⁸ D4r.: "So wellent wir nun das wort sacrament dermass bruchen wie die kirch bekents, das sacrament heisst ein helig zeichen. Augustinus am dritten buch von der dryfältigkeit, der vergleicht die dry: wörter, gschrift, sacrament dan sy al dry lerent und gebend uns zu erkennen . . . D4v. . . by dem selbigen lert er, das man sy mit christlicher fryheit des verstants und nit mit thummer oder fleischlicher dienstparkeit eren sol, lert ouch christliche fryheit, das wir hannt ein solchen verstant, das wir nit ligen uff den zeichen, aber durch des gefiert werden zu dem, das es bedüt und sagt ouch ussdruklich, das da not sig figürlicher reden, und man dem buchstaben nit nach hengen muss." (Cf. *De Trinitate* 3.9-10, CCL 50.149-158).

⁹ This has already been stated by Eck, B4v.: "Er sucht ouch uss flucht mit dem Berengario, dan so ich ingefieret hab, wie der irthum für kätzerisch vor so fil iaren verdampft ist worden im heiligen Concilio, das überspringt er und arbeit sich in ettlichen worten des Berengarii revocacion . . ." Oecolampadius replies [C2r.] that he does not know enough about Berengarius to take up Eck's accusations.

¹⁰ *Disputacion*, Elr.-E2v. Esp. E2r.: "Wier habent all gewartet wo er mit der gschrift und dem wort Gottes umbstiess das hochwürdig sacrament des zarten fronlichnams Jhesu Christi, so gadt er hindersich dran und focht an mit dem bruch der kirchen . . ."

of their sacrifices; the same applies to those who now deny real presence. Eck's reference is basically correct, although naturally he does not say that Augustine in *De doctrina* is not at all interested in the question of real presence and that he considers the Jewish ceremonies as a necessary (albeit defective) stage of spiritual development.¹¹

Oecolampadius [E4r.-v.] could easily challenge Eck on his use of Augustine here. However, he prefers to return to a philosophical analysis of the Scripture (in the style of Berengarius!) and consider Matthew 26:26 which mentions bread, "hat Jhesus genommen das brot" (*accepit Iesus panem*), and nothing else. No mention is made of "die anhangen" (*accidentia panis*) anywhere in the Scripture. Paul never mentions anything other than bread. Even John Fisher admits that transubstantiation cannot be proved from the Scripture. Thus, once again the Basle reformer refuses to separate the substance of the bread from its accidents.

Eck (Flr.-v.) is not to be outdone in this application of philosophy to Scripture. Yes, Matthew 26:26 does say "Jhesus hat genummen das brot" (*accepit Iesus panem*), but this does not exclude the presence of the accidents. What is more important, according to Eck, is that Jesus afterwards says "das is min lib," he does not say "das ists brot das der beck bachten hat" (*this is the bread baked by the baker*). Plainly to Eck, the miraculous separation of the substance of the bread from its accidents poses no problem whatsoever.

THE MEANING OF *HOC/DAS*

The discussion has moved from the question of what is a sacrament (simply a sign or the sign and the signified) to focus on what the word *hoc/das* refers to in *hoc est corpus meum* ("das ist min lib"). Oecolampadius and Eck both employ fundamentally the same Aristotelian method: both are concerned to work out the relationship between what is said and that which it is said about, as well as the relationship between the substance and the accidents. Both wish to situate their analysis within the context of the tradition of the Church. Neither intends to justify the Scripture by the Scripture.

Answering Eck (F2r.), Oecolampadius states that *hoc/das* must refer to the substance of the bread, otherwise water in baptism would not be water but simply the external appearances (or accidents) of water.¹² The discussion takes an even less Scriptural and an even more dialectical turn, with Eck resorting to a circular definition. According to him (F2r.-F3r.) *hoc* (or *das*) in "das ist min lib" (*hoc est corpus meum*) refers to that which the Lord wanted to show to his disciples. In other words, Eck implies that the argument should run as follows. The word *this* refers to

¹¹ *De doctrina christiana*, 3.22, CSEL 80.85.

¹² F2r.: "Man möcht sunst ouch sprechen, das wasser im tauff wer kein wasser, so es ein sacrament ist."

that which the Lord wanted to give to his disciples; the Lord wanted to give (or show) his body to his disciples. Therefore, the word *this* refers to Christ's body.¹³ Oecolampadius spots the fallacy (*petitio principii*) very easily and reminds Eck that they are aiming to identify the *object* the Lord pointed to and not to analyse the function of *hoc*, or *das*, in the sentence. It is as if we were to ask X's son what his name was, and he were to reply, "my name is the same as my father's." "But what is your father's name?" we could then ask. "The same as mine." Although this example is not perfectly analogous to Eck's argument, the basic problem is the same. And, continues Oecolampadius, the object that the Lord pointed to is identified by the words of the Scripture: "der her hat genummen das brot in die hend" (*accepit Ihesus panem in manus*) [Matt 26:26].

Eck (F4r.-v.) denies resorting to a *petitio principii*. Yes, the Scripture does identify the object the Lord points to in Matthew 26:26 but not in the way Oecolampadius thinks. As the Gospel says "der her hat genummen das brot" (*accepit Iesus panem*), Jesus can only be pointing to the bread when he says "das ist min lib" (*hoc est corpus meum*). Thus, concludes Eck, the bread has become Christ's body and this transformation is not only documented by the Scripture itself but also by patristic tradition. Augustine says in his *Commentary on Psalm 33* that Christ in Matthew 26 takes his body in his hands.¹⁴ Eck's reference, it might be pointed out, is perfectly accurate, and we might go so far as to say that his entire argument concerning the reference point of *hoc* is founded on that very passage from Augustine.

Oecolampadius, yet again, has no direct answer. Thus, he sidesteps the issue and, seizing on the logical link between *hoc* and *corpus* that Eck's argument implies, accuses the Ingolstadt theologian of adopting the position of Karlstadt, the only difference being that Karlstadt referred *hoc* to Christ's visible body while Eck refers it to his invisible body.¹⁵

Again, we cannot help remarking that our protagonists are very far removed from the Bible. Although a Scriptural text does indeed serve as the starting point of discussion, the arguments brought to bear on it are mainly philosophical and logical. In this situation Eck has no difficulty replying that he, unlike Karlstadt, does not twist the text in such a way as to "mit dem wortly 'das' hinder sich zeiget uff den sitzenden herren Jhesum und lasset für sich selbs bliben das überig 'ist min lib'".¹⁶ Furthermore, Eck does not accept Oecolampadius' distinction between

¹³ F3r.: "So sprich ich, das unser lieber herr zeigt hat mit dem wortly, so er spricht 'das ist min lib', das ihenig das er den heiligen apostelen dar gereicht hat."

¹⁴ En. in Ps. 33, serm. 1:10.7, CCL 38.281: "Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis quando commendans ipsum corpus suum ait: 'hoc est corpus meum.' Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis." (For Christ held himself in his hands when, pointing to his body, he said "this is my body." For he held that very body in his hands.)

¹⁵ According to Karlstadt, Christ in saying "this is my body" simply pointed to himself. Cf. *Disputation*, F4v.-Glr.

¹⁶ "... that the word 'this' points back to the sitting Lord Jesus while 'is my body' is left on its own."

Karlstadt's position and his own. Christ was visible to his disciples at the last supper and is visible to the saints after the resurrection as he sits on the right hand of God. He was invisible to his disciples under the bread he gave them and is invisible to us now in the sacrament. Oecolampadius now sees an opportunity to pick up the initial argument on what exactly is a sacrament and on whether Christ has to be present or absent for the eucharist to constitute a sacrament.

The Basle reformer accuses Eck of twisting the text. *Das/hoc* is meaningless if it is made to refer to Christ's invisible body. Faithful to his interpretation of Augustine, Oecolampadius repeats that sacraments being signs must be visible and instruct us in that which cannot be seen. In saying *das ist myn lib/hoc est corpus meum*, Christ pointed to the bread and was asking his disciples to consider his actual body about to suffer on the cross. To refer *das/hoc* to Christ's invisible body as scholastics do, would diminish the merit of his passion.

In then taking Eck up on the concept of *anhange/accidentia panis*, Oecolampadius shows himself quite happy to subordinate the text of the Scripture to Aristotelian distinctions. The Basle reformer asserts that if Eck talks of *anhange/accidentia panis* (which contain Christ's invisible body) instead of the material bread, he alters the meaning of the word "bread" as used by Christ and by the Apostle Paul (e.g., in 1 Corinthians 10:16), it is the material bread that is supposed to feed us and not its external appearances. If Eck's argument were to be taken to its logical conclusion, pursues Oecolampadius, it would mean that Christ is wrong when he calls himself the "lifegiving bread." The substance of the bread *cannot* be either destroyed or converted into Christ's flesh. Oecolampadius stresses that this is the view of the ancient doctors such as Irenaeus or Tertullian.

Eck again has no problem in seeing the central weakness of the first part of Oecolampadius' argument. No scholastic doctor has ever suggested that Christ's invisible body is a sacrament (or sign) of his visible one! Then, with perfect justification, Eck accuses Oecolampadius of supporting his position by recourse not to the Bible, but to Aristotle [G2v.], "so doch die nuwen christen Aristotelem haltent dem evangelio so widerwertig (although the new Christians consider Aristotle to be totally incompatible with the Gospel)."

THE USE OF IRENAEUS

The Ingolstadt theologian then takes advantage of his opponent's vague citing of Irenaeus and Tertullian to turn the patristic tradition against him. Oecolampadius refers to (the heterodox) Tertullian and to Irenaeus, says Eck, only because he has seen that he cannot find any support for his teaching in the writings of Augustine. However, he, Eck, will find a specific passage from *Adversus haereses* 4.17 (Erasmus edition of Irenaeus had not yet appeared. It was obviously Johann Fabri, who owned a manuscript of *Adversus haereses*, who lent it to Eck for the

disputation) which expressly contradicts Oecolampadius. Eck then cites the passage in question:

This created bread he took and gave thanks saying: "this is my body and similarly the chalice which is a creature (like we). With it he attested his blood and taught the new sacrifice of the new covenant, which the Church took over from the apostles and which it offers to God in the entire world." These are Irenaeus' words.¹⁷

Needless to say, the passage of Irenaeus is summarised by Eck in a way that does nothing to bring out its context. As might be expected, the text read in context does not necessarily favour the doctrine of real presence and Oecolampadius could have easily turned the passage in favour of his own doctrine. We cite the passage here in its context:

Sed et suis discipulis dans consilium, primitias Deo offerre ex suis creaturis, non quasi indigenti, sed ut ipsi nec infructuosi nec ingrati sint, eum qui ex creatura panis est, accepit et gratias egit dicens: "hoc est meum corpus." Et calicem similiter qui est ex ea creatura, quae est secundum nos, suum sanguinem confessus est et novi testamenti novam docuit oblationem, quam ecclesia ab apostolis accipiens in universo mundo offert Deo, ei qui alimenta nobis praestat primitias suorum munerum in Novo Testamento.¹⁸

The point made is that God values his creatures and that the New Testament sacrifice replaces the Old Testament offerings.

Oecolampadius' reply, based directly on neither the Fathers nor the Scripture, is unfortunately a model of confusion. After affirming briefly that the *prisci doctores* do not believe in transsubstantiation and that Eck's sole source is the canon *Dammamus*,¹⁹ the Basle reformer returns to the ontological issue and argues that God does not annihilate or transmute his creatures without good cause, otherwise accidents would be nobler than substance. Moreover, Christ himself asserts in Matthew 26:29 that his cup contained wine.

Without overtly accusing Eck of Gnosticism or pointing out that the passage of *Adversus haereses* 4.17 should be interpreted differently, Oecolampadius circles

¹⁷ G3r: "Disses brot so uss geschöpfft brot ist, hat er genummen und danck gesagt sprechend 'das ist min lib und der glichen ouch den kelch so ein geschöpff noch uns ist, und da mit sin blut bekendt hat und gelert des Nuwen Testaments ein nuw offer welches die kirch von den apostelen entpfangen got opffert in der gantzen welt' Das sint die wort Hyrenei."

¹⁸ "But advising his disciples to offer up to God the first fruits of His creatures, not because He needs them, but so that they would not appear barren or ungrateful, he took the bread, a created thing, and giving thanks he said 'this is my body.' And similarly with the chalice, also a creature like ourselves, he attested his blood and taught the new sacrifice of the new covenant, which the Church all over the world takes from the apostles and offers to God who gives us in the new covenant the first fruits of his generosity as nourishment" (MPG 7.1023-1024 = Lib. 4 cap. 32 in Erasmus' edition of Irenaeus, Basle, August, 1526).

¹⁹ "Uss dem Latheranischen Concilio" (G4r.). In fact he means the canon. "Una vero est fidelium universalis ecclesia." Cf. *Denzinger*, no. 802.

around to the question of the goodness of the Lord's creatures but not particularly with Irenaeus in mind. First of all he points out that the Church Fathers defended the goodness of the creatures against Marcion and the Manichaeans, and then alludes to Irenaeus' book five, chapter 2:

How could they have stood up so well to Gnostic arguments, had they wanted to prove the goodness of the creatures from accidents alone, and Irenaeus in his fifth book, where he shows the reality of resurrection, says clearly that it is ordinary, earthly bread and that it is materially present.²⁰

It is interesting to note that Oecolampadius too had access to *Adversus haereses* prior to its publication. His allusion, although not very elaborate, is clear enough: he is using Irenaeus to make the point that God values his creatures (a point he could easily have made with the aid of *Adversus haereses* 4.17 used by Eck!). This is the passage of *Adversus haereses* [5.2] that Oecolampadius apparently has in mind:

Altogether misleading are those who spurn the universal power of God and deny the salvation of the flesh and its resurrection, saying that it is incapable of purity. According to their beliefs the Lord did not redeem us with his blood, and the bread we break is not a communion of his body. For blood can only come from veins and from the flesh.²¹

The Church Father is talking mainly about the reality of Christ's body, whereas Oecolampadius applies his teaching to the Aristotelian distinction of substance and accident. Needless to say that in doing so, Oecolampadius does not make his line of argument any clearer as he finally challenges Eck to produce a Scriptural proof for the doctrine of transsubstantiation:

I see nothing wrong with Eck bidding me to observe Christian unity, but he should prove his transsubstantiation with passages from the Scripture.²²

TRADITION AND THE SCRIPTURE

The Aristotelian arguments disappear at least momentarily. What emerges now is Oecolampadius' basic uncertainty about the relationship between tradition and Scripture. No such uncertainty is detectable in Eck's answer. He counters that the

²⁰ G4r-v.: "Wie werent sie dan so wol bestanden wo sy allein mit anhangenden dingen hettent wellen beweren die giete der creaturen, in dem zu vor Hyrenaeus im fünfften Buch, da er bewaert die wore ufferstentniss, sagt er aber ein mal klarlich, das das brot von erdtrich erwachsen dorum das die gegenwürtig matery antriff . . ."

²¹ MPG 7.1124: "Vani autem omnimodo qui universam dispositionem Dei contemnunt et carnis salutem negant et regenerationem eius spernunt dicentes non eam capacem esse incorruptibilitatis. Sic autem secundum haec, videlicet nec Dominus sanguine suo redemit nos neque calix eucharistiae communicatio sanguinis eius, neque panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis eius est. Sanguis enim non est nisi a venis et carnibus."

²² H1r.: "Fürter das mich doctor Eck ermant zu christlicher einigkeit, hat es minenthalb kein mangel, uff ein mal sol er sin transsubstantiaz mit geschriften darthun . . ."

fourth Lateran Council is in perfect accord with what Christ says in Matthew 26. The canon of the Council states in fact, “. . . Iesus Christus cuius corpus et sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis et vini veraciter continentur, transsubstantiatis pane in corpus et vino in sanguinem potestate divina,”²³ and the relationship between the canon and the words of the Institution is by no means self-evident. However, it has not been properly challenged by Oecolampadius, so that Eck has nothing to defend and can legitimately see the fourth Lateran Council as prolongation of the Institution.

We might note that Eck is quite right to point out that his opponent has not brought forward any Scriptural passages with the exception of Matthew 26:29, which Eck makes very short work of. If Christ is really talking about material wine, why does he add [Hlv.] “bis in den tag so ich das drincken wurde in dem rich mins Vatters nuwe?” The entire patristic tradition is behind Eck here in referring the passage to a spiritual event, i.e., the resurrection. The fact that the Fathers do not refer the passage to the question of Christ’s presence in the eucharist is used by Eck to prove real presence!

He also has no difficulty refuting Oecolampadius’ patristic arguments. And one can only admire the way Eck can and does summarise Irenaeus’ anti-Gnostic argument correctly the moment he sees that he can use it to his advantage:

Here is the original where Irenaeus says clearly against the heretics that if Christ did not have real flesh, then the chalice of the sacrament of the eucharist would not be a communion of his blood and the bread would not be a communion of his body.²⁴

Irenaeus’ argument in *Adversus haereses* 5.2, which Oecolampadius tried to use to show that God values his creatures and therefore does not destroy the substance of the bread, can indeed be interpreted in this way. Having used the passage of Irenaeus to argue against his opponent for the reality of Christ’s human nature, Eck then challenges Oecolampadius to point to a single passage of Augustine where he says that Christ’s body is *not* in the sacrament. Once again Eck emphasises that Oecolampadius departs from the *consensus* of the Church and that, therefore, his doctrine is bound to be wrong.

Interestingly, Oecolampadius at this point can find no new arguments. Therefore, he returns to his linguistic analysis of *das ist myn lib/hoc est corpus meum* for which he tries to find more convincing patristic and Biblical support. He recapitulates: Eck claims that the words *das ist myn lib/hoc est corpus meum* mean that the substance of the bread disappears and that whiteness, roundness, etc., is all that is left. This opinion Oecolampadius combats with another Biblical passage, Matthew

²³ Cf. *Denzinger* no 802.

²⁴ H2r.: “Da ist das original, da Hyrenaeus klarlich wider die ketzer sagt wan Christus nit war fleisch het, so wer der kelch des sacraments eucharistie nit ein gemeinsame sins bluts noch das brot ein gemeinsame sines fronlichnam.” Cf. *Adv. haer.* 5.2, MPG 7.1124.

26:29, “Von ietzund an werd ich nit drincken von dem gewechs der reben biss an den tag bis ich den nuw drinck in den rich mins vatters.” This shows that the substance of the wine did not change with the Institution. It will only change on “den tag” (*diem illum*), i.e., the Day of the Last Judgement. The wine that Christ will drink then will have nothing to do with the physical drink but with [H4r.] “anschouung der ewigen warheit, uss welcher ouch der lib selige wonsamkeit haben wurd.” Both Jerome and Augustine have criticised in a friendly way, Papias’ and Irenaeus’ “carnal” (i.e., apocalyptic) exegesis of the passage.²⁵ Where Eck has previously referred to patristic exegesis to show that the wine was transmuted, Oecolampadius now does the same to show that the wine was not transmuted and that it will only be transmuted at the Last Judgement!

Oecolampadius then devotes some time to showing that Augustine could not have believed in real presence, contrary to Eck’s claims. Among the texts he cites is Augustine’s *Epistola ad Bonifacium* where the Church Father says that the godparents’ “credo” is a sign of the child’s faith in the same way that the bread is a sign or a sacrament or a symbol of Christ’s body. He then cites *De Trinitate* 3.9 (which Eck [H2r.] had referred to the doctrine of transsubstantiation):

And if it is asserted with the strongest authority, whose flesh and blood it is, they will believe nothing other than: “the shape in which the Lord appeared to men and the liquid that flowed from his wounded side.”²⁶

Oecolampadius affirms rightly that according to Augustine the belief in real presence is a sign of a primitive understanding of the words of the Institution:

They would *mis*understand the doctrine and think that the eucharistic bread was Christ’s resurrected flesh and the wine, the liquid that flowed from his side.²⁷

He then points out that Augustine asks us not to go beyond the capacities of our (human) understanding:

²⁵ H4r.-v.: “Wie wol man list von den alten heiligen Papia und Hyreneo, das sy ouch liplich erfreud disses erdrichs gewart handt, sint aber umb solchs irsals willen nit so unfrendtliche von den nachvolgenden als Jheronimus und Augustinus angetast worden, dan es was die lieb under in, die mocht solchen freffel nit erliden, der her entzind in uns ouch an die lieb, so mögen wir ouch kumen zu der warheit.” Cf. Jerome, *In Matthaeum* ad loc., CCL 77.251 and *De viris illustribus* 18, MPL 23.670.

²⁶ “. . . und gsagt wurd mit der aller dapffersten auctoritet, wes lib und blutes sig so werdent si nichts ander glauben dan allein gantzlich in der gestalt den herren erschinen sin den ougen der menschen und von disser siten geschlagen die fuchte gantzlich geflossen sin ist . . .” *De Trin.* 3.9, CCL 50.149: “dicaturque illis auctoritate gravissima cuius corpus et sanguis sit, nihil aliud credent, nisi omnino in illa specie Dominum oculis apparuisse mortalium et de latere tali percusso liquorem illum omnino fluxisse.” The *Epistola ad Bonifacium* is *Ep.* 98, CSEL 34.531.

²⁷ J1r.: “So wurdent sy ouch ein solchen schlechten verstandt daruss nehmen glich als wer eben das der lib und wer eben die fuchte des bluts die uss der syten Christi geflossen.”

But I find it most advisable to bear in mind what my capacities are just as they should remember their limitations lest human weakness go beyond the bounds of safety.²⁸

Oecolampadius is right: Augustine is advising very strongly against an excessively carnal interpretation of the words of the Institution. In his zeal to refute Eck, the Basle reformer has left the Scripture a fairly long way behind. In fact, the key problem has become patristic and particularly Augustinian exegesis of Matthew 26:26 ff.

A deadlock has been reached. As counterargument to Oecolampadius' claim that Matthew 26:29 shows that there cannot be transubstantiation, Eck affirms that Matthew 26:26 *hoc est corpus meum*/(*das ist myn lyb*) shows clearly that the substance of the bread has undergone an alteration. This doctrine was transmitted to the Church by the Holy Spirit in four Councils. Cyprian also adhered to it for he says [J2r.], "diss brot . . . das der Her sinen jungeren darbott hat verwandelt (merck: verwandelt) nit in der gestalt, sunder in natür durch allmechtigkeit des wortes ist fleisch worden."²⁹

As for Augustine's *Epistola ad Bonifacium*, Eck cannot disagree but stresses that *sacramentum* can refer to both the *sign* and the body of Christ as such. The Ingolstadt theologian also questions his opponent's interpretation of *De Trinitate* 3.9. Augustine is in fact warning us against the fragility of human understanding which makes it difficult for man to interpret the words of the Institution in the sense of the bread transforming itself into Christ's body. But this perversion of the Fathers' doctrines, so as to make them correspond to the new heresies, is typical of Oecolampadius and his party, adds Eck.

ECK AND THE LUTHERAN DOCTRINE OF REAL PRESENCE

Finding himself outargued on tradition, Oecolampadius returns to the problem of ontology conveyed by Christ's words *das ist min lyb*/*hoc est corpus meum*. Eck wishes to show that these words prove the absence of material bread. But the Scripture says nothing about accidents of bread. All it talks about are two things: the bread and the body of Christ, which are distinct from one another. Paul himself in the *Epistle to the Corinthians* [1 Cor 10:16–17; 11:23] mentions only bread.

No, says Eck, Paul does not mean ordinary bread but the sacred body of Christ "under der gestalt des brots" [J3v.]. This is confirmed by Christ himself in John 6:56 "Und das brot das ich geben wurd ist min fleisch."

²⁸ *De Trin.* 3.9, CCL 50.149: "Mihi autem omnino utile est ut meminerim virium mearum ut et . . . ipsi meminerint suarum ne ultra quod tutum est humana progrediatur infirmitas."

²⁹ "this bread . . . that the Lord offered to his disciples became flesh, transformed (note: *transformed*) not in its form but in its substance through God's omnipotence." The quotation is, of course, not from Cyprian but from the twelfth century French theologian, Arnold de Bonneval, whose *De coena Domini* (MPL 189.1643 f.) figured under Cyprian's name in Erasmus' 1519 edition of Cyprian's *Works*. See further Johannes Eck, *Enchiridion*, ed. P. Fraenkel, CC 34.369.

Christ is truthful, insists Eck. If he promised that he would give the bread for the life of the world, then the promise has to be fulfilled. Paul himself in 1 Corinthians 10:16 ff. makes it quite clear that no ordinary bread is meant as he says, "welcher wurdet essen das brot und drincken den kelch des herren unwürdicklich, der wurdet schuldig des libs und bluts des herren" [J4r.].

As for Matthew 26:26 ff. let Oecolampadius choose whatever doctor of the Church he likes, Chrysostom, Ambrose, Nicholas of Lyra, Hugo of Sancta Caro, he will find no one who interprets Christ's words "wider das sacrament." Moreover, Matthew 26:29 is uttered by Christ after the Institution of the sacrament and should not be interpreted as necessarily referring to it.

Eck has shifted ground twice now in his interpretation of Matthew 26:29. Having argued initially that Christ's words refer not to material wine at all but to the resurrection, he was countered by Oecolampadius' saying that if the wine is to change at the resurrection, then it could not have changed at the Institution. Eck then argues that, however we interpret Matthew 26:29, verse 26 of the same chapter shows conclusively that the *bread* was transmuted, and finally, almost as an after-thought, he decides that Matthew 26:29 has nothing to do with the Institution of the sacrament.

Needless to say, none of these interpretations is original. What is surprising is Oecolampadius' apparent helplessness in the face of Eck's somewhat random use of them!

All he can find to say is to ask the assembled company to hear the words of Christ himself. All those that Eck has cited so far do not prove that the substance of the bread ceases to exist, and do not prove that Christ's flesh is present in the sacrament "Ich mein er verstands also, er sig als wol da im brot als im himmel aber doch unsichtspar ist di meinung."³⁰

As this does nothing to challenge Eck's fundamental argument, Oecolampadius returns to the Scripture but it is interesting to note that the questions he addresses to the various passages are philosophical. Beginning with John 6:52 "das brot das ich geben werd, ist min fleisch, welches ich geben werd für das leben der welt," Oecolampadius adopts Luther's arguments from the *De captivitate Babylonica*.³¹ There the Wittenberg Reformer had stated that John 6:52 did not refer to the eucharist at all, but simply to the redemption through the crucifixion. This is the view adopted by Oecolampadius [Klv.]:

"And the bread that I shall give, etc." does not refer to ceremonies or sacramental signs, of which no mention is made in this chapter.³²

³⁰ Klr. "He seems to be saying that Christ is both in the bread and in heaven, but that he is invisible."

³¹ WA 6.499-506.

³² "Und das brot das ich geben werd etc. ist nit die meinung, das hie gelernt werd von den ceremonia oder sacramentlichen zeichen, von welchen zeichen dieses ganz kapitel kein meldung thut."

Yet he does not completely do away with the link with the sacrament as he specifies:

But the chapter does mention that which the sacrament signifies. That is, it teaches us usefully about our Lord Jesus. It is clear that it is not the material bread or the sacramental sign which came down from heaven.³³

According to Luther, John 6 does not even have a "sacramentliche Andeutung"; Oecolampadius, however, explains it as follows:

So the Evangelist tells us that Christ's body will be our food in that we shall receive faith from him and great trust.³⁴

It would be a diminishing of Christ's passion and of his redemptive work to have him present in the sacrament.

Turning to 1 Corinthians 11:27 "he who eats . . . will be guilty" Oecolampadius questions that it implies the presence of Christ's body in the elements. The term *guilty* according to him applies not to guilt vis-à-vis the food but the giver who is Jesus Christ. He gives two examples to illustrate his point. (1) If a king gives a subject some food and the subject takes it in a spirit of ingratitude and contempt, he will be guilty of despising the royal power, but this does not mean that the food is the royal power. (2) Someone breaking a sceptre, which is a natural sign of sovereignty, damages the sovereignty, but this does not mean that sovereignty is physically in the sceptre. The bread is the bread of the Lord but it is no more than bread, although it was instituted as commemoration with the Lord saying "do this in memory of me."

As for Christ's words "I shall not drink the fruit of the vine," it does not matter that they precede the Institution in Luke 22:18 and follow it in Matthew 26:29, all the Evangelists agree about the substance and meaning of the words.

Thus faced with a mixture of Scriptural and ontological arguments, Eck decides to combat the philosophical content of Oecolampadius' arguments rather than look for further Scriptural texts. Yes, Paul does call the sacrament *bread*, but this does not prove that the bread is material and does not contain the sacred body of Christ.

As for Oecolampadius' assertions about John 6, the Basle reformer has affirmed that the bread in "das ist das brot, das vom himmel her ab gestigen ist" cannot be the sacramental bread, as that did not descend from heaven, whereas Christ did. However, Eck points out, Christ in his human nature did not descend from heaven either but was born of the Virgin Mary! To believe in Christ's passion is

³³ "Aber von dem das durch die sacrament bedüt wurd. Nemlich von unserem heren Jhesu gibt es unss gar nutzbarliche leren. Wissent ist, das das materlich brot, oder das sacramentlich zeichen nit von himmel herab gestigen."

³⁴ [Klv.]: "So sagt uns der evangelist so vil Christus fleisch so vor wurd unser spiss sin, das ist wir werdennt ein glauben entpfahen an in, und ein gantz wol gefallen und vertrauen . . ."

not to deny his presence in the sacrament. On the contrary, Eck returns here to his original argument, there is no reason why “der her Jesus und sin bitter liden solt eim frommen Christen anmietiger sein durch das becken brot dan durch sein eigen fronlichnam.”³⁵ To drive his argument home, Eck concludes with an appeal to tradition:

The good doctor Oecolampadius cites Saint Paul as if we should believe his exegesis, he who will not believe the decrees of the holy Councils and holy Fathers of the Church. No, we will not accept his opinion.³⁶

In other words, once deprived of the support of Christian tradition, Oecolampadius' exegesis becomes arbitrary. Furthermore, continues Eck, Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:27 ff. speaks about Christ's body; he does not even mention the word *bread* [!]. Eck thus implies that Oecolampadius' exegesis is not only arbitrary but also fanciful.

Neither has the Ingolstadt theologian much difficulty in disposing of Oecolampadius' examples of royal power and its uses. When a king distributes food, he cannot truthfully say “this is my body.” As for the sceptre image, it would not please the iconoclast Zwingli: if it is considered insulting to the king to break his sceptre, how much more insulting it is to the crucified Jesus to break and stamp on the image of his cross!

As for Matthew 26:29 he has already proved to Oecolampadius that Christ's words about the wine have nothing to do with the sacrament. Moreover, Eck's thesis has been the object of dispute for four days without Oecolampadius being able to refute it!

Thus reminded of the principal thesis, Oecolampadius once again retreats into ontology. His position, it should be noted, becomes more and more precarious as Eck's doctrine, expounded here, comes to accommodate increasingly Luther's teaching on the real presence.

It has not yet been proved, says the Basle reformer now, that the substance of the bread is changed and that “so wir das brot haben wortlich, so habent wir ouch ein sacrament” [Llv.]. Further, if John 6 is not admitted by Eck as mentioning ceremonial and material bread, then he cannot use that chapter to prove transubstantiation. Moreover, Eck has not proved that it is the carnal presence in the bread that must feed the soul.

As for 1 Corinthians 11:24 ff., he agrees that a king cannot make the food he distributes into his body. But *this is my body* is not a precept. What is a precept is *do this in memory of me* and this precept is within the capacities of any king.

³⁵ “The Lord Jesus and his bitter suffering should be more accessible to a pious Christian through baked bread than through his own body.”

³⁶ “Mit den worten sant Pauli spricht min herr doctor, das ist die meinung Pauli glich als solten wir im glauben siner uslegung, der doch nit will glauben den worten der heiligen Concilien und der heiligen Lerer, wir korent unss nit an sin meinung.” [K4v.]

Eck's point about the sceptre has nothing to do with the thesis debated which, if it is to be believed, means that three articles of the Apostles' Creed should be abolished (Oecolampadius does not say which). Moreover, Eck's chief proof text, *this is my body*, does not mean what he thinks it means.

Eck is on his own terrain. He begins by saying that he would never deny that John 6 is to do with the sacrament, and that Oecolampadius must prove Biblically that the sacrament contains only bread and not Christ's body. Moreover, thinking that commemoration of Christ's passion and ordinary bread can feed the soul more than the presence of Christ is nonsense.

He then tackles the precept problem. The Gospels all contain a clear precept, Luke contains two distinct ones "eins von niessung sins fronlichnam, das ander das die geschehen in siner gedechtnis." Naturally, God has not left a precept ordering us to transform the bread into his body, as this is not within human power. "Aber er selbs thun durch sin almechtigkeit, so die priester des sprechent und thundt das er bevolhen hat."

Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:24 ff. clearly says that those who receive it unworthily, "sy essent in selbs das urteil," in that they do not distinguish between the bread and the sacrament. Now, according to Oecolampadius the "not distinguishing" means not believing in Christ's passion so that the bread has no special value as a sign. But this, argues Eck "contextually," is impossible as Paul is addressing himself to Christians all of whom believe in Christ's passion, and faith without good works is dead anyway, as it is said in the Epistle of James [2:17].

Oecolampadius' interpretation of 1 Corinthians 11:24 ff. is thus attacked on two counts. First, he has not paid sufficient attention to the historical context. Second, he has not adduced adequate Biblical support for the supremacy of faith.

The three articles of faith that Oecolampadius has merely referred to as having to be taken out of the Apostles' Creed, if Eck's thesis is right, have been enumerated by Zwingli. They are "ist uffgefaren zu den himlen, sitzt zu der gerechten Gott des Vatters Almechtigenn, dannen er künfftig ist zu richten die lebendigen unnd dodten." Both Zwingli and Oecolampadius think that if Christ's body is in heaven, then it cannot be in the sacrament; neither, according to Eck, has properly considered God's omnipotence and neither cites any Scriptural passages in support of the doctrine.

Eck proceeds to elaborate his argument in a way which certainly points up the difference between himself and Zwingli. However, there is no doubt that he intends to include the Lutherans in his doctrine, and thus to isolate the Zwinglian party.

Acts 9:3 ff. shows that Christ could be simultaneously on the road to Damascus with Paul and on God's right hand. Even in nature a thing can be in several places, continues Eck, and gives the example of the soul—man has only one soul, yet the same soul is in the right and the left hand. What is possible in nature is all the more possible to God. Thus, when Jesus says in John 16:16 ff. "Es sig dan sach

das ich werd hin gon," he does not mean that he cannot be gone *and* present in the sacrament.

Moreover, Oecolampadius claims that "fleisch ist nüt nutz" [John 6:64] refers to Christ's body but this is impossible. If Christ's body were really of no use, Christ would have used *bread* to redeem the world. Thus, according to Eck, and indeed according to Luther "fleisch ist nüt nutz" refers not to Christ's own body but to our carnal understanding. Eck is thus seen to adopt Luther's position on the eucharist, a position that will be presented in a somewhat modified form in the *Enchiridion* where he argues:

Christ is not talking about his flesh, as he does not say "my flesh is of no avail." This was the opinion held by the Jews who went away thinking that Christ's flesh was literally torn apart with the teeth and eaten under the form of the flesh. We, however, say that the Lord is in heaven "sitting at the right hand of the Father" in a visible and quantitative form, but he is also present under the form of the bread in an invisible sacramental manner.³⁷

The question of transubstantiation and the *accidentia panis et vini* has become irrelevant for Eck in the course of the Baden Disputation. In concentrating on whether Christ can be in several places at once, he approaches the question of real presence in the same way as the reformers. In the *Enchiridion*, however, he will point up the particularity of the Roman Catholic doctrine of real presence by specifying that the body is *sub specie panis* as opposed to coexisting with its substance.

Finally, Eck says, he would like to hear Oecolampadius' exegesis of "nempt hin und essent. Das ist min lib," because if that does not confirm the Roman teaching on the sacrament, then nothing will.

All references to tradition have disappeared and so, for the moment, has ontology. Eck is challenging Oecolampadius directly on a passage of Scripture.

And indeed it is only on that last point that Oecolampadius will take up the challenge, at least for the moment. "Nempt hin und essent," claims the Basle reformer, is not a precept in the sense of the Lord's words to the blind man in Matthew "sühe uff" or of the Genesis command "es werd ein liecht." Here the Lord does not say "let this bread become my body." In fact, the Lord's words are to be taken figuratively, as "parable" or a "gleichnuss." They are an answer to the disciples' question "Her Christe was meinstu dar mit, das du all das brot in die hend nympt, und also zerbrichst und gibsts also den iungeren?" A formal parallel is found in Exodus 12:11 and the Institution of the Passover (sacrifice of the Old Covenant), which signified the passage of the Lord. Oecolampadius is, in fact, having recourse here to the argument put forward by Zwingli in *Subsidium* of 1525 [Z 4.483].

³⁷ CC 34.293: "Non loquitur Christus de carne sua. Non enim ait: caro mea non prodest quicquam. Hanc sententiam habebant Iudaei, qui abierunt retro, existimantes carnem Christi visibiliter sub specie carnis dentibus direptam dilaniari. Fatemur sursum esse Dominum in coelo 'sedentem ad dexteram Patris' in forma visibili et quantitativa; qui tamen sub specie panis latet invisibilis sacramentaliter."

Eck immediately seizes on the weak point, which the figurative interpretation constitutes. Scripture should be interpreted simply and literally, not figuratively, and that includes the words *das ist min lyb*, which have been interpreted simply by the Church over the past 1500 years. *Das ist min lyb*, he continues, is a precept to be taken literally within its context.

The remaining discussion between Eck and Oecolampadius brings nothing new. One thing, however, is clear; by skilful use of tradition, by bringing the discussion of transsubstantiation into the reformers' camp, Eck dismantles Oecolampadius' ontological and Scriptural arguments without any difficulty. The chief point that remains in the minds of the public is that there is no reason why Christ's body should not be present in heaven and in the sacraments. And that, after all, was also the doctrine put forward by Luther.

OTHER SPEAKERS

It is probably with the intention of combatting this impression that Jakob Imeli³⁸ steps in to challenge Eck on the exact relationship between Christ's body and the elements:

I am asking, doctor Eck, what exactly he calls the sacrament of the altar: bread of the Lord, its accidents, or Christ's body?³⁹

Eck replies that he understands by "sacrament of the altar" "die entpfindlichen zeichen wins und brotes." These contain Christ's blood and body after their consecration by a priest during the mass.

If they are visible signs, says Imeli, they must be visible signs of *something*, and therefore accidents. In this instance, they can only be accidents of either the elements or of Christ's body and blood. External signs are accidents of neither the elements nor of Christ's body and blood.

That means, says Imeli, that they do and do not exist. They are a sacrament (or a sign) without an essence (or a sign without that which it signifies). Although Eck defends himself by saying that the elements after consecration remain as supernatural qualities, he is plainly reluctant to enter into any detailed explanations of the doctrine of transsubstantiation.

The discussion thus turns to the meaning of *koinonía* in 1 Corinthians 10:16, which was to become one of the chief bones of contention in the eucharistic dispute between Zwinglians and Lutherans. Already in 1524, in his *Letter to Matthaeus Alber* [Z 3.322 ss.] Zwingli had specified that *koinonía* is to be understood not in the sense of participation in Christ's body, but in the sense of community

³⁸ On Imeli (d. 1543), dean of the Basle Faculty of Arts, 1522; pastor in Pratteln, then Münchenstein, after converting to the Reformation in 1525, see *DHBS* 4.209.

³⁹ Q2r.: "Frag ich min her doctor was sin sacrament des alters erenne, ob es sig des herren brot oder die anhangenden ding des herren brots oder der lib Christi . . ."

of those who take the sacrament. They attest that they are members of the same body, and this membership carries certain obligations, which must be fulfilled if excommunication is to be avoided.

It is Zwingli's exegesis of 1 Corinthians 10:16 that is put forward by Imeli. Although Zwingli is not named explicitly, Eck, again, is quick to seize on the point. First he holds up to ridicule Imeli's contention that "die gemeinsame des libs und bluts Christi die gleubig versamlung Christi ist, und redt nit hie von dem lib Christi das der selbig das brot des herren sig" [R2r.].⁴⁰ According to Eck, "ist wunderlich zu hören, das meister Jacob darff sagen wider alle vernunft das gemeinsame eins dings nit das selbig ding sig. So were so die koufflüt gemeinsame hetten in gelt so wers nit gelt . . ." ⁴¹

He then makes a point of saying that his interpretation of *koinonía* in 1 Corinthians 10:16 is also Luther's (as indeed it is) "Dan also lutend die wort Pauli ouch nach lutherischem usslegen, den wir fil sint ein brot oder ein lib, die wil wir alle eins brots deilhafftig sint" [R2v.].⁴²

Like Oecolampadius before him, Imeli prefers philosophy to interpreting Scripture by the Scripture. Thus, instead of searching out other Biblical passages, which might show Eck that *koinonía* is used in the sense of *community* of rather than *participation in*, he prefers to analyse Eck's example of the merchants "Sprich ich die gemeinschaft des gelts ob schon das gelt ist an im selber, so ist sy aber nit das deren die gemeinschaft ist, namlich der koufflüt" [R2v.].⁴³ In other words, just as the community of money is not money but merchants, so we Christians are the community of the Lord's supper but we are not the supper.

Eck begins his reply by suggesting, possibly rightly, that Imeli does not really have an answer and therefore seeks refuge in obscurity. Yes, money is not merchants, yet money remains itself, that which the merchants share in. In the same way, Christ's body remains that which the Christians share in.

Imeli admits that money is the "gemeinschaft der koufflüt" but the merchants are not the money. Similarly, when Paul says "bread is the 'gemeinsame' of the body [of Christ]" it does not follow that bread is the body.

Eck disagrees: Imeli must compare the merchants who share in the money not to the bread but to the Christians who share in Christ's body. Imeli, however, decides to stand by his comparison "bread is common to the body," is to him parallel to, "money is common to the merchants." In neither case can it be said that that which is common is identical to that which it is common to.

⁴⁰ "The communion of Christ's body and blood is the gathering of the faithful in Christ, and it does not say here that Christ's body is the bread."

⁴¹ "It is strange to hear that Master Jacob can say against all reason that the communion of a thing is not the thing itself. Thus a communion or share that merchants have in money is not money . . ."

⁴² "Luther also interprets Paul's words to mean that we who are many are one bread or one body, because we all share in the one bread."

⁴³ "Although a community or share in money is money in itself, it is not that of which the community is composed. For community [that shares in the money] are the merchants."

Eck argues that the two propositions are not analogous. Money is the "gemeinsame" of merchants in the sense of being that which they share in, whereas bread is the "gemeinsame" of Christ's body in the sense of that by which Christ's body is communicated. Merchants share in the money so that each has some; the body of Christ does not share in the bread in the same way.

Having made the first move to depart from the Bible by having recourse to ontology, Imeli now finds himself outargued on that very terrain. Although the exchange carries on, he is unable to convince Eck, who finally asks all those who still disagree with his thesis to come forward and attack it. All those who say nothing will be considered as agreeing with it.

Ulrich Studer's intervention does little more than throw an interesting light on his education. Citing Thomas Aquinas as the first theologian to put forward the doctrine of transsubstantiation (a misapprehension in which he is quickly corrected by Eck), he mentions that he first studied the doctrine of the eucharist twenty years previously, at Leipzig University, particularly in Konrad Wimpina's book *De sacramento altaris*, divided into ten Aristotelian categories.⁴⁴ However, he specifies, that is not what he wishes to expound here. No, he is here to throw light on 1 Corinthians 11:23 ff. with the aid of other Scriptural passages. His attempt to elucidate that passage by Hebrews 11:1 is foiled immediately by Eck. If Christ's words "dass ist myn lyb" concern faith as it is defined in Hebrews 11:1, then they must be elucidated by a clearer passage. This Studer fails to find, and the discussion of the first thesis ends with a clear victory for the Roman Catholic party.

Eck has not brought forward much new material, perhaps with the notable exception of the Irenaeus manuscript. What is even more striking, he has not really put forward a coherent theology of the real presence. True to his nature and his reputation, he has simply outargued his opponents who, despite having a coherent theology, found themselves unable to expound it in a way that would make it their own. The real presence, having already occasioned some unrest in Zürich before the Disputation—it is no wonder that the Roman Catholic party felt confident as they embarked on the discussion of the remaining theses.

⁴⁴ S3v.: "hab ich gelert von doctor Wimpina vor xx iaren uff der hohenn schul Lyps [!] der uns für hielt, Thomam in dem buch so man nempt von dem sacrament des altars zerteilt in zehen predicamenta Aristotelis heben also an Memoriam dominus fecit mirabilium suorum . . ." Studer presumably means Wimpina's *Opusculum beati Thomae de sacramento ad modum decem predicamentorum eucharistiae*, Frankfurt/O, 1508. Wimpina was in Leipzig between 1500 and 1505 and so presumably lectured on the *Opusculum* there prior to having his lectures published in Frankfurt. Cf. J. Negwer, *Konrad Wimpina. Ein katholischer Theologe aus der Reformationszeit*, Breslau, 1909, 214.

III

The Second through Fifth Theses of the Baden Disputation

THESIS TWO

[*They Are Also Really Sacrificed in the Office of the Mass
for the Living and for the Dead*]¹

Zwingli on the Sacrifice of the Mass

Whereas Luther in *De captivitate Babylonica* (WA 6.512 ff.) did suggest that the eucharist was not a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice but of the last supper, Zwingli's early doctrine of the eucharist, as expressed in the *Schlussreden*, retained something of the sacrificial character of the eucharistic meal. Zwingli stated:

Christ's erstwhile self-sacrifice is the true and eternally valid sacrifice for the sins of all the faithful. From this it follows that the mass is not a sacrifice but a *commemoration of a sacrifice and assurance of salvation* that Christ demonstrated to us.²

Eck knew Zwingli's position. He had already written the chapter on the sacrifice of the mass in his *Enchiridion*, where he refuted the Zürich reformer.³ Moreover, he was at the time of the Baden Disputation, if not in the process of writing, then at least in the process of planning, his *De sacrificio missae libri tres* which appeared in August 1526.⁴

Thus prepared, the Ingolstadt theologian made it his aim at the Baden Dispu-

¹ Cf. *Disputacion*, Tlv; *Hendricks*, 574: "Die werden ouch wärlich uffgeopfert im ampt der mess für lebendig und todten."

² Z 1.461.18: "Dass Christus sich selbs einest uffgeopfert, in die ewigheit ein wärend und bezalend opfer ist für aller gloubigen sünd; darus ermessen würt, die mess nit ein opfer, sunder des opfers ein widergedechnuss sin und sichrung der erlösung, die Christus unss bewisen hatt."

³ *Enchiridion* (CC 34), 199 ff.

⁴ Hgb. Erwin Iserloh, Vinzenz Pfnür, Peter Fabisch (*Corpus Catholicorum*, Bd. 36), Münster, 1982.

tation to convert the Zwinglian distinction between the one real sacrifice (Christ's) and its commemoration (the eucharist) into Christ's sacrifice and its reenactment. It is interesting to compare the arguments he uses during the Disputation to those developed in the *Enchiridion* and in the *De sacrificio*.

The Disputation

In response to Haller's argument, based on Hebrews 9 and 10, that Christ's sacrifice (as distinct from Old Testament offerings) took place once and for all, and that a priest cannot improve upon what was accomplished by the Son of God, Eck stresses that a distinction must be made.

Christ's sacrifice, according to him, is double. First, there is his death on the altar of the cross which guarantees the efficacy of all the sacraments. In this sense (as guarantee) Christ did only die once. Second, there is Christ's second, spiritual sacrifice "through which the first sacrifice is reenacted and represented to God the Father with the holy sacrament in the office of the mass."⁵ As for the Epistle to the Hebrews, it should be considered in its context. Paul is writing to the Jews to instruct them in the Christian faith. He has to insist and show Christ to be the true Messiah. It is from Christ's death on the cross that Christian ceremonies draw their life and strength. The Old Testament mentions two types of sacrifice, *zebah* which involves death, and *muncha*, a bloodless sacrifice. Moreover, Daniel 12:9-12 shows that the latter must be performed in the Church until the time of the Antichrist.

Eck's arguments are interesting in that they are Biblical and yet very firmly grounded in the mediaeval tradition. The emphasis on the sacrifice of the mass as being a commemoration of the sole real sacrifice is a stock feature of late mediaeval theology as expressed by Gabriel Biel in his *Canonis missae expositio*, lecture 85 where he affirms:

Although Christ openly and physically was sacrificed only once, nonetheless he is offered up daily on the altar, disguised in the form of bread and wine. Not that suffering is inflicted on him again: Christ is not wounded daily, he does not suffer and die. No, it is for two quite different reasons that the consecration and partaking of the eucharist are called a sacrifice and an offering. Firstly because the eucharist represents and commemorates the real sacrifice and the holy immolation performed on the cross. Secondly because it brings about similar effects. For as Saint Augustine says to Simplicianus, it is usual to call images of things by the name of the things of which they are images.⁶

⁵ *Disputacion*, T2v.: "da gott dem vatter die erst opffrung wurdt vor bildet unnd representiert mit dem hochwürdigen sacrament im ampt der mess."

⁶ "Quamvis autem semel oblatus est Christus in aperta carnis effigie, offertur nihilominus quotidie in altari velatus in panis vinique specie. Non quidem quantum ad ea quae poenam important: non enim Christus quotidie vulneratur, patitur et moritur, sed ex aliis duabus causis eucharistie consecratio et

An acquaintance with the *Expositio* was sufficient to enable Eck to reply to Haller's arguments. Daniel 12:9–12 applied to the sacrifice of the mass, is also a feature of mediaeval exegesis and originates with Nicholas of Lyra, as indeed does Eck's point about Paul's motives for writing to the Hebrews.

One cannot help but be struck by the way Eck brings out the similarity between the mediaeval doctrine of Christ's sacrifice and its reenactment, and the Zwinglian distinction between Christ's sacrifice and its commemoration. It is not surprising that Haller finds himself unable to give anything but a very weak answer.

The (future) Berne reformer takes up the question of the double sacrifice. Obviously not familiar with the doctrine of the *Canonis missae expositio*, he points out that Christ's sacrifice consists in death; if it were to be repeated, Christ would have to die every time a mass is celebrated. Thus, the sacrament cannot be a repetition of the sacrifice but only its commemoration. Hebrews, as cited by Eck, supports Haller's argument. It shows that there is no sacrifice in the mass but only a commemoration of previous sacrifices. Furthermore, there is no reason why Daniel 12:9 ff. should be applied to the mass. It could equally well apply to spiritual sacrifices mentioned in Romans 12:1.

Eck's answer once again demonstrates his debating skills. He not only challenges Haller but adds a Biblically-based proof to the ones he had already adduced. So (according to Haller), the mass is a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice and therefore cannot be a sacrifice in itself. Yet Old Testament sacrifices were a prefiguration of Christ's sacrifice while remaining sacrifices in their own right (this argument is, needless to say, also drawn from Biel's *lectiones* 21 and 85).⁷ Should not an analogous argument be applied to the mass? Moreover, Christ in saying "das thund in miner gedechtnis" ordered the disciples to repeat the sacrifice. Daniel's prophecy is confirmed by Matthew 24:21, and spiritual sacrifices of the kind Haller describes will never cease, good Christians will continue to practise them even at the time of the Antichrist.⁸

Haller remains surprisingly clear headed. He repeats his main argument about the uniqueness of Christ's sacrifice and adopts Luther's interpretation of the words of the Institution which he tinges with the distinctly Zwinglian element of commemoration. "Every Christian can understand from this quite clearly that Christ commands two things to his apostles, to eat the sacrament and to do so in memory of him."⁹ He further demands that Eck prove from the Scripture that the sacrifice of the mass was instituted in the New Testament.

sumptio sacrificium dicitur et oblatio. Tum quia illius sacrificii veri et immolationis sacrae factae in cruce representativa est et memoriale. Tum quia similium effectuum operativa et principium causale. Solent autem (ait beatus Augustinus ad Simplicianum) imagines illarum rerum nominibus appellari quarum sunt imagines." Cf. ed. Courtenay and Oberman, vol. 2, p. 101.

⁷ Ed. Courtenay and Oberman, vol. 1, pp. 185–190; vol. 2, p. 100.

⁸ *Disputacion*, T4v.

⁹ *Disputacion*, V2r.: "Darus ein iedlicher Christ verstan mag heiter und klar, das Christus sinen Apostelen zwey ding beuillt, niessen das sacrament und das zu siner gedechtnis."

Eck, the reader senses from the Acts, is somewhat caught out by this direct challenge, but insinuates that the institution of the sacrifice of the mass can be deduced from Hebrews:

But it is important to correctly understand Paul in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which Master Berthold does not, for I have shown that there is sacrifice through death, but also another form of sacrifice, without blood. He says that, according to Paul, the sole sacrifice of Christ is his death, but this he will not find anywhere in Paul.¹⁰

This is naturally no answer to Haller's request of proving that the sacrifice of the mass was instituted in the New Testament. All Eck does is imply that such an institution can be found in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

He then points out that if "das thund in meiner gedechtnis" means merely *eat* as Haller suggests, then how are we to account for the fact that the consecration of the sacrament was practised in the Church already in apostolic times?

Haller replies, quite rightly, that Eck has not yet shown that there is a sacrifice of Christ other than the one on the cross. Luke and Paul both show that the "bruch des sacramentes stond uff niessen, gedenken und verkünden die entpfangen guttadt und nünt von opffren" (V3r.).¹¹ There is no reason to interpret *thun* in the sense of *sacrifice*. On the contrary, if Christ's words were to be taken literally, every officiating priest would have to share out the sacrament among the faithful as Christ had done and then undergo crucifixion!

And where, asks Haller, do we read in the Scripture that the consecration of the eucharist was practised by the apostolic Church? Haller thus rejects the mediaeval exegesis of the words of the Institution.

After first accusing Haller (not unjustifiably) of treachery, Eck pulls out his ultimate weapon, the Church's teaching and tradition, the ultimate court of appeal in cases where interpretation of the Scripture causes problems. If Haller wishes to reject the "gemein verstandt der Kirchen," it is up to him to prove from Scripture that the sacrifice of the mass was instituted in the New Testament and that Christ ordered the sacrament to be consecrated. If Haller cannot do this, the Church's interpretation has to be the right one and the Church takes "das thund" in the sense of "consecrate."

Having hitherto argued from the Scripture and having given the impression of being on the same wavelength as his opponent, Eck now makes it quite plain that he considers the Church as the highest court of appeal in cases where the Scrip-

¹⁰ *Disputacion*, V2v.: "Aber zu der sach kürztlich ist hüt gehört der recht verstandt Pauli in der Epistelen zu den Hebreern und so her Bechtoldt nit mer weiss dan eincherly wiss zu opffren mit dem todt hab ich in underwissen, das ouch einandre form sig da man opffre und dörff doch nit bluten. Er sagt es sig kein andre uffopffrung Christi dan mit dem dodt nach der leer Pauli, das wurd er in Paulo nimmer mer finden."

¹¹ "The sacrament consists in manducation, commemoration and announcement of the good we receive and not in sacrificing."

ture is susceptible to different interpretations. Thus, he strikes a blow against the basic principle of Reformation disputations. This will have important consequences for the Berne Disputation which will have to define the role of the Church before settling down to debate the other points.

Indeed, it is at this point that Haller weakens and has to be rescued by Oecolampadius, who interestingly enough, again chooses to argue philosophically rather than arguing from the Bible. If the mass is a sacrifice, asks Oecolampadius, who is to offer Christ's body and blood, the priest, Christ himself, or the congregation?

Eck's answer is quite standard; since Christ's ascension, it is the priest who carries out the sacrifice but in such a way as not to exclude the true "opffermeister," Christ. The text of Malachi 3:3 ff. "und sy werden opfferen sin opffer" shows conclusively that Christ in the New Testament purified the priests sufficiently for them to make offerings on his behalf. Eck is once again relying on Nicholas of Lyra's exegesis.

Oecolampadius counters with the priesthood of all believers and with an ontological objection. So, he says, Eck does not deny that the entire congregation (and not just the priests) can carry out this sort of sacrifice, "doch sig vorbehalten die ordenung inn dar reichung der ceremonia, des nit eim ieden zu stadt." Eck claims that the sacrifice is the job of the priests only, but has not yet cited a New Testament passage proving the institution of such a sacrifice. The notion of Christ as "opffermeister" is incoherent. Either there is only one sacrifice of the cross or Christ is offered daily by the priests, in which case he cannot be the "opffermeister," as he is the sacrificial victim. The priests, if Eck is to be believed, are thus "höher geacht der opffrung halben dan der lib und das blut Christi."¹²

Oecolampadius attempts to widen the gap between the eucharist as representation and as commemoration of Christ's sacrifice and the sacrifice itself by stressing, against Eck, the relative inefficacy of the eucharist as opposed to the real sacrifice. Moreover, there is no reason why Malachi 3:3 should be made to refer to the institution of New Testament sacrifices. It simply refers to the end of the legal priesthood and to the return of the priesthood of Melchizedek, which all true Christians will perpetuate. There is nothing sacred about the state of priesthood, given the abuses committed by individual priests. Oecolampadius cites here 1 Peter 2:9.¹³

Eck (not surprisingly) avoids Oecolampadius' Scriptural challenge by another appeal to tradition and consensus, and places the burden of Scriptural proof on his opponent. Oecolampadius, he says, has not yet cited a Scriptural passage that would disprove the sacrifice of the mass. Moreover, all the Church Fathers, he lists several but without any specific references to their works, taught the sacrifice of

¹² *Disputation*, W3v.

¹³ It is interesting to note that 1 Peter 2:9 is interpreted in the sense of the priesthood of all believers by Nicholas of Lyra whose *Postills* constitute, as we have seen, Eck's principal authority.

the mass, and "who among you will want to believe that the holy Fathers and martyrs could not have understood the Epistle to the Hebrews for so many hundreds of years?"¹⁴

As for New Testament proof texts, Christ's words in Luke 22:19 "Das thund in miner gedechtnis" refer to consecration, sacrifice, and manducation, and constitute sufficient proof.

Then, taking up the point about the relationship between the sacrificial priest and victim, Eck argues that it does not follow at all that the latter has to be inferior to the former. If Oecolampadius' argument were right, Christ would not have sacrificed himself on the cross as he is not better than himself! Neither is Abraham better than Isaac. Moreover, the priest is not the "opffermeister" but merely a "diener." As for the relative inefficacy of the mass, let Oecolampadius disprove from Scripture the inefficacy of the mass for the dead "dar sant Augustin vor elf hundert iaren hat anzoogen der bruch der gantzen kirchen" (Xlr.) (which, according to Saint Augustine, was in use in the entire Church eleven hundred years ago).

Against the Basle reformer's interpretation of Malachi, Eck cites Psalm 109:4, which shows clearly that Melchizedek's successor will be he who sacrificed with bread and wine. Malachi 2 (also cited by Oecolampadius) shows how the Lord chose the state of priesthood to serve him particularly. Peter's point about the priesthood of Christians concerns only the spiritual priesthood which does not preclude the external priesthood of Levi.

Sacrifice of the mass is clearly demonstrated by Matthew 24:21 and Hebrews 9 and 10 which he cited yesterday. Today he has adduced Malachi 3 and 2 as two further proof texts. The sacrifice of the mass has moreover been taught by the Church for 1,500 years!¹⁵

In fact, all Eck has done is to show that Malachi 3 and 2, indeed Matthew 24 and Hebrews, do not disprove the sacrifice of the mass. Moreover, he has stressed the importance of the consensus of the Church, and has effectively made nonsense of Oecolampadius' ontological argument concerning the superiority of the priest over the victim.

Oecolampadius now attempts to argue that all teaching that has no direct foundation in the Scripture does not have to be accepted, only to be countered with what amounts to Eck's final statement of his theological method:

If he asks me whether a doctrine which is not in the Bible is also to be accepted, I answer: I proclaim that which the Church teaches or proclaims; I believe it whether it is written down or not, for example, that Mary was a virgin or that Sunday should be observed although this is not ordered by

¹⁴ *Disputacion*, W4v.: "Wer wolt nun glauben under uch, das die heiligen vetter und marterer so fil hundred iar nit hetten kinnen verston die epistel zu den Hebreern?"

¹⁵ *Disputacion*, X2r.: "Dissen spruch hat die kirch ie und ie gefiert wider die iuden für unser christlich opffer, wie der heilig Augustinus, Alphonsus, Samuel, Paulus Burgensis und andre anzeigen, ist er nun krefftig gewesen ietz schier fünffzehen hundert iar wider iuden . . ."

the Scripture. And if doctor Husschin does not want to believe me, let him believe Zwingli's *Von der Taufe* against doctor Balthasar [Hubmaier], where it says that the foundation of Anabaptist teaching is the absence from the Scripture of a clear order to baptise children.¹⁶

Not only does Eck aim to show that Oecolampadius' approach is aberrant and akin to Anabaptism, he also emphasises a fundamental agreement between his own method and Zwingli's, an agreement which he has already implied in his attempts to assimilate Zwingli's sacrificial concept of the eucharist to his own. To make his position on the latter point completely clear, Eck emphasises once again that Christ's sacrifice is the best, but that we can participate in it:

So we say here too that through the sacrifice of the mass, as in other sacraments, we participate in Christ's suffering and sacrifice on the cross.¹⁷

Eck then compares Christ's sacrifice on the cross to medicine and Christians to a sick man. The medicine is sufficient to heal the sick man but he must first be made to partake of it. Additions to the mass that Oecolampadius criticises, were put in to aid worship and increase devotion.

Eck then returns to the significance of "das thund" which, according to Oecolampadius, refers to manducation only. Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:26, specifies that commemoration consists in announcing Christ's death until he comes. These words clearly indicate that the mass is a sacrifice. Moreover, the Evangelists show that the Old Testament paschal lamb will come to an end and give way to the paschal lamb of the Church. Exodus 12:3 ff. contains the first mention of the sacrifice and eating of the paschal lamb. Paul in 1 Corinthians 5:7 refers to Christ as the paschal lamb. "Das thund" can only mean "do with the new paschal lamb as you did with the old."

Having thus given a perfect demonstration of what it is to interpret the Scripture by the Scripture, Eck adds a philological point; *thund* in Hebrew can mean *sacrifice* as in Leviticus 23:19 "und ir werdt machen oder thun einn bock," the same as in Greek (*leitourgéo*) or Latin (*facio*), thus *liturgia tis pisteos* and *liturgundon* [!] in Acts 13:2.¹⁸ Needless to say Eck omits to point out that the Greek verb in

¹⁶ *Disputacion*, X2v.: "Fragt er mich ob *locus ab auctoritate negative*, das ist wen ein ding in der gschriff nit funden wurde ouch gelte, begert antwort: ich sprich was die kirch mich lert oder heisst, das gloub ich, es sig gschribben oder nit, als von der ewigen iungkfrauwschafft Marie, vom Sontag, der zu füren gebotten inn der Gschriff nit funden. Und ob mir doctor Husschin nit glouben würd, so gloub er dem Zwingli *Vom Widertauß* wider doctor Balthasar, dass die widertaufer habent fast iren grund daruff gesetzt, das in der gschriff die kinde zu tauffen nit gebotten . . ."

¹⁷ *Disputacion*, X4v.: "Also sagen wir ouch hie das wir uns durch das opffer der mess, wie in andren sacramentenn deilhaftig machen des liden und opffer Christi am krütz."

¹⁸ *Disputacion*, Ylv.: ". . . Und das disser verstandt also sig angenommen worden von den aposteln gibt uns kundtschafft Lucas in Geschichten der xii boten. Da die christen fasten und uff opffreten oder mess hielten, da sprach der heilig geist re dan Lucas kriechisch geschribben spricht ouch liturgundon und ist wissenlich das durch all kriechen land biss uff den hütigen tag, die mess von in genempt wurd liturgia tis pisteos . . ."

Luke 22:19 is *poiëite*! He further contends that Oecolampadius' argument that he who sacrifices is in some sense superior to that which is being sacrificed, is nonsensical and has no Scriptural backing. Will Oecolampadius also say that he who carries is better than that which is carried and that therefore Mary is better than Jesus and the donkey better than both?

Oecolampadius counters Eck's arguments but not very convincingly, as he devotes a very large part of his reply to a discussion of the relationship between him who sacrifices and the sacrificial victim. He begins by reinterpreting Daniel 12:4 as referring to the sacrifice of the Jews, which came to an end under Antioch, and by defining participation. We must participate by faith in Christ's merit, and this faith is necessary for taking part in the eucharist. Otherwise, as Paul says, "welcher on solchen glauben die sacrament entpfiehg, der wurdt im das urteil essen und trincken." Melchizedek is Christ's predecessor not because he sacrificed bread and wine but because he thanked God and blessed Abraham.

The words "thund in miner gedechtnis" indicate a commemoration in faith. In no way can the eucharist be considered a mere commemoration; but if the words were to be taken in the sense Eck intends, *thund* (or its Greek and Latin equivalents) would have to be a transitive verb and have an object. (One wonders why Oecolampadius' knowledge of Greek should have deserted him at that point to the extent it did. Not only does *facite* in Luke 22:19 have an object but the verb there is *poiëite*, and absolutely nothing to do with *liturgia* and its variants!) The sacrifice of the paschal lamb, continues Oecolampadius, as foreshadowed by the Old Testament, was fulfilled by Christ on the cross, and there is no point comparing the Old Testament sacrifice to the last supper.

Oecolampadius then explains that *liturgundon* [!] in Acts 13:2 has nothing to do with sacrificing and means simply *dienen*.

Finally the Basle reformer returns to the sacrifice agent/victim relationship. Yes, he agrees with Eck that one cannot argue that Mary was nobler than Christ because she bore him. One can, however, argue that the body of the virgin Mary was stronger and more appropriate for the task than the body of Jesus. Similarly, the strength of the donkey's body could support Christ's weaker one.

Oecolampadius further insists on his distinction between the true priesthood which belongs to all true believers, mentioned by Malachi 3, and the external priesthood, which can be exercised by very bad men. The "reines opffer" mentioned in Malachi 1:11 is the renewal of life also evoked by Paul in Romans 15:16 "Ich soll sin ein diener Christi under die heiden zu opffren das evangelium gotts, uff das die heiden ein opffer werden got anenem, geheilligt durch den heiligen Geist."

Eck replies point-by-point, beginning with Daniel 12:11 which, according to Oecolampadius, refers to the eternal sacrifice of the Jews which came to an end under Antioch. Yet Christ himself in Matthew 24:15 refers to the prophecy in Daniel as not yet fulfilled. How could something that came to an end under Antioch not be fulfilled?

Oecolampadius' affirmations to do with faith that makes us participate are quickly dismissed by a reference to James 2:19 "die tüffel gloubent ouch." Moreover, says Eck, referring to the reformer's insistence (Y2v.) on the eucharist not being a mere commemoration, "der doctor felt mir zu das nit ein bloss gedechtnis sig in der mess, wil doch das opffer nit bekenen and doch kein gschriff dar wider gefiert,"¹⁹ nor will he cite any Fathers. *Thund* in Luke 22:19, Oecolampadius interprets as referring to the commemoration only, but this goes against the teaching of the Church. In Acts 13:2, moreover, Erasmus²⁰ himself takes the Greek *liturgein* to mean *sacrifice*. Oecolampadius, continues Eck sarcastically, Erasmus' great friend, helper, and advocate, abandons the latter's New Testament to cite the Vulgate when it comes to it.

Eck then casually dismisses Oecolampadius' grammatical objection to do with Leviticus 23, and gives his explanations of the paschal lamb an equally short shrift. The Jewish paschal lamb was sacrificed and eaten. "Der Christen osterlamp hat der her Jhesus bevolhen zu opffren und zu niessen, nit zu opffren an dem krüz." Eck's assertion here is question begging. He again alludes to Paul who describes Christ as the paschal lamb and assumes that Christ in saying "thund das" is in fact saying "this my body is the new paschal lamb, sacrifice it and eat it in memory of me."

Oecolampadius' remaining arguments are also dismissed fairly briefly, either by Eck citing a new Scriptural passage, or by him invoking the consensus of the Church. The Basle reformer is once again defeated.

What is the strength of Eck's arguments? The obvious and global answer is his use of the Scripture and his constant appeal to tradition, which Oecolampadius does not have the courage to reject, coupled with a concerted effort to *integrate* the doctrine of the reformers into that tradition rather than emphasising their departure from it. Eck's strategy in the Baden Disputation can be appreciated better if his defence of the sacrifice of the mass there is compared to the defence he puts up in the *Enchiridion* and in *De sacrificio missae*.

Thus in the Disputation Eck insists on the doctrine of the double sacrifice which is not very far removed from Zwingli's doctrine of the sacrifice and its commemoration. Furthermore, he makes very sure that he draws the bulk of his arguments from the Scripture while making the consensus of the Church his ultimate court of appeal. This allows him to answer all arguments of the type "prove that X is found in the Scripture" with "prove that it is not." His principal Scriptural texts are Malachi 3:3 ff. which he interprets in the sense of New Testament priests performing Christ's sacrifice; Daniel 12:9 where he takes the sacrifice to refer to

¹⁹ "The good doctor insists that it is not just a commemoration, but he will not admit the sacrifice, and yet he does not cite any Scriptural passages against it."

²⁰ Cf. ErAn ad Act 13:2, LB6, 484: Erasmus' translation is "quum autem illi sacrificarent Domino." His annotation (*ibid.* col. A) reads: "nullum autem sacrificium Deo gratius quam impartire doctrinam evangelicam."

the sacrifice of the mass; Luke 22:19 with *thund* interpreted to mean "sacrifice, and eat"; and 1 Corinthians 11:26 which he takes to refer to the sacrifice of the mass. Among other Biblical themes running through Eck's arguments we might single out his insistence on the sacrifice of the paschal lamb of Exodus 12:3 ff. as direct representation of the eucharist.

The arguments put forward by Eck in the *Enchiridion* do not differ substantially. What is missing is insistence on citing Scriptural evidence and his repeated injunction to his opponents to prove that the institution of the sacrifice of the mass is *not* Biblically based. Turning to *De sacrificio missae* we note that Malachi 3:3 and Daniel 12:9 are discussed at length and constitute the principal proof texts. Luke 22:19 is barely mentioned; 1 Corinthians 11:26 is presented in the context of an argument from tradition. Eck refers to the exegesis of the passage by "Athanasius." In fact he means Theophylactus whose commentaries were mistakenly attributed to Athanasius at the time. Moreover, in *De sacrificio* patristic evidence plays a much more prominent role, the whole of the third part being devoted to it.

The strength of Eck's defence of the sacrifice of the mass lay in his ability to adjust his argument according to the circumstances. In the *Enchiridion*, the principal arguments are listed so as to bring out the difference between the Roman Catholics and heretics. *De sacrificio* is a systematic treatise where equal weight is given to Scriptural and patristic arguments. What is remarkable about Eck's stand at the Baden Disputation is first his willingness to adopt Scripture as the foundation of his argument and second his determination to persuade his opponents to accept the sacrifice of the mass even if it means that the Ingolstadt theologian has to underplay the difference between his own and Zwingli's position.

THESIS THREE

[*Mary and the Saints should be Called upon as Intercessors*]²¹

The same basic method of argument is adopted by Eck in the thesis on the intercession of the saints, in the face of an ever more helpless Oecolampadius.

In the *Enchiridion*, Eck had concentrated his defence of the saints on showing the importance of intercession. Saints are not to be honoured on their own account but because they serve as intermediary between us and God. On the basis of John 12:26, he argued that if God honours his saints, so should we all the more. Conversely, argued Eck, honour accorded to the saints is also accorded to God. Apocalypse 5:8 shows that angels pray for us and 1 John 2:12 states clearly that Christ is our advocate before God. If Christ can exercise this function, then why not the

²¹ Cf. Hendricks, 575; *Disputacion*, Z 3r. ff.: "Maria und die heiligen sind anzurueffen als fürbitter."

saints? Eck then cites a large number of Biblical passages showing that the living can and do pray for one another, why should this not apply to the dead? After devoting much time to arguments from tradition, Eck gives a list of "heretical" teachings drawn exclusively, it might be noted, from Zwingli's *Auslegen und Gründe*. He emphasises that the "heretics" in arguing against the intercession of the saints, remove all intercession, be it of the living, of the dead, of Christ, or of the saints.²²

Now in the disputation Eck emphasises that there is only a difference of degree between intercession by Christ and intercession by the saints. Certainly God is the sole object of real worship, but it is humbler and more fitting to sometimes worship him through the saints.

In reply to Oecolampadius' initial citing of 1 Timothy 2:5 and 1 John 2:1.2 in support of the doctrine of Christ as the sole mediator, Eck states (rightly) "that there is no preacher in the Christian church that disagrees with this, and if they do preach honour and intercession of the saints, they consider Jesus Christ, the head of the saints and the culminating point of all doctrine, praise and glory."²³ However, he adds, pursuing his by now familiar line of argument, nowhere does it say in the Old or the New Testament, that the saints do *not* intercede for us. Since Vigilantius was refuted by Jerome, intercession of the saints is universally accepted by the Church. By their interpretation of 1 Timothy 2:5, the reformers show themselves unable to interpret the Scripture correctly. If they compared other passages of Paul with 1 Timothy 2:5 they would see, as the Church Fathers did, that Paul does not exclude other mediators. Certainly there is only one Jesus Christ who died for our sins. However, as is shown by 2 Thessalonians 1:3 and Romans 10:1 Paul accepts our intercession for one another. As for 1 John 2:1.2, it does not say that we may not have more than one advocate or intercessor.

In an attempt to restore God to the centre of worship Oecolampadius asks Eck whether it is better "to call upon God through Christ alone with all our trust, forgetting all other creatures or to hang on to other creatures as well."²⁴ This objection is extremely weak, given that no thesis of the disputation treats of the relationship between God and his creatures and that Eck has never denied, nor would wish to deny, the human component of Christian worship and life.

Eck thus has no difficulty in answering that there is no reason why God should always be called upon directly. He then cites Job 42:8 to prove that human intercession is the result of a divine commandment. There is no reason to think that the intercession of Mary is any worse than that of Job.

²² *Enchiridion* (CC 34), 185.

²³ *Disputacion*, Z 4r.: "Das kein prediger ist inn der christenlichen kirchen, der das nit dieg und wen sy schon predigen von eer, erbietung und lob der heiligen endtlichendt alle lere, lob und glori in aller heiligenn haupt Jhesu Christo."

²⁴ *Disputacion*, Aalv.: "mit gantzen vertruwen Gott durch Christum allein anriefen mit vergessung aller andrer creaturen oder sich an ander creaturen ouch hencken."

Oecolampadius wishes to distinguish between intercession by saints on earth and saints in heaven. He grants that there is Scriptural basis for us praying for one another on this earth, but not for the deceased interceding for us. Job in 42:8 does indeed intercede but he is alive and, what is more, God does not command Job's friends to go to him.

It is particularly worth noting that Eck in his answer accuses Oecolampadius of arrogance and excessive reliance on human powers (i.e., the very thing that the Roman Church is accused of by the reformers). According to the Ingolstadt theologian, it is much humbler to approach the throne of God through the saints. As for Oecolampadius' distinction between the living and the dead saints, it is arbitrary and untenable. To honour God's saints, dead or alive, is to honour God. What is more, Oecolampadius is contradicting himself: having stated that there is only one Intercessor, Christ, he now makes a distinction between the admissible living saints and the inadmissible dead ones.

With extraordinary aplomb Eck then suggests *how* Oecolampadius should proceed if he wishes to refute his (Eck's) argument—he must prove that the saints (living or dead) are not intercessors:

if he wants to overthrow my thesis, he must show that the saints do not offer any prayers in addition to those offered for us by Christ.²⁵

In his concluding remarks Eck points out once again that only confirmed heretics such as Vigilantius, the Albigenians, and the Valdians challenged the authority of the Church. As the reformers are also guilty of this, Eck must necessarily consider them the same type of heretics.

Oecolampadius' answer does not add much philosophical, or for that matter, Biblical substance to what has already been said. He cites several passages of the Scripture in support of Christ's mediatorship, which Eck has not challenged. He defends himself and his party against the accusation of arrogance by stating that they recognise better the power and virtues of Christ.

As Oecolampadius has manifestly not proved the exclusiveness of Christ's mediatorship, Eck can and does continue his basic line of argument "X does not automatically exclude Y." He stresses that the Church would indeed be to blame if it honoured the saints while neglecting Christ but there is no harm in honouring both. Moreover, if an earthly sinful being can intercede for us, as Oecolampadius claims it can, then so can the saints in heaven.

Finally Eck even resorts to *argumenta ad hominem*. He points out, quite rightly, that only three years previously Oecolampadius had published a book *Psegmata Chrisostomi*²⁶ in which he said that the saints in heaven are full of charity and con-

²⁵ *Disputacion*, Bb2v.: "Er muss by bringen wil er min schlüssred umbstossen, das die heiligen nit für bitter sigent zu dem das Christus für uns bit."

²⁶ Pseudo-Chrysostom. See Ernst Stachelin, *Die Väterübersetzungen Oekolampads* in: *Schweizerische Theologische Zeitschrift* 33 (1916), 57–91.

stantly praying for us. After referring to the Leipzig Disputation (where he disputed the question of the saints with Karlstadt) and reaffirming that Christians will continue to address the saints, Eck asks Oecolampadius to accept his third thesis.

What was a series of general and somewhat dispersed arguments in favour of worship of the saints in the *Enchiridion*, has become a coherent theology of saint worship with Christ being placed squarely at the top of the mediating hierarchy, with other saints acting as his subordinates or accessories. The burden is again placed on Oecolampadius to prove, from the Scripture, that Christ's mediatorship excludes the intercession of the saints. Oecolampadius cannot come up with an adequate proof as the Scripture contains several examples of intercession by the living; thus, he admits intercession by the living and is unable to refute Eck's final and clinching argument. If the living, why not the dead?

Oecolampadius' fundamental error here consists not only in his lack of skill at arguing from the Scripture but also in his conception of the relationship between the living and the dead saints.

Zwingli in his 67 *Schlussreden*²⁷ had expressed the doctrine of intercession much more clearly when he stated first that Christ is the sole mediator between us and God, and second that we pray for one another on this earth specifically so that Christ grant us the object of our prayers. The question of the comparison between the living and the dead saints does not even arise.

As for the Biblical passages discussed (1 Timothy 2:5; 1 John 2:1.2; Job 42:8), a short investigation of their exegetical history helps us situate the context of the debate. 1 John 2:1.2 is particularly interesting as by the time of the disputation Oecolampadius had published his own *Commentary on the First Epistle of John*. In fact the first edition had appeared in Basle in 1524 under the title *In Epistolam Ioannis Apostoli Catholicam primam. Ioannis Oecolampadii demegoriae, hoc est homiliae una et XX*. There (22v.), commenting on 1 John 2:1.2, Oecolampadius puts forward a very Lutheran or rather Luther-like argument against the worship of saints. The saints, he claims, cannot intercede for us because any merit that they might have is given them by God. Christ is the only one who is just by his own merit.

The question of the role of the saints à propos of 1 John 2:1.2 had already been raised by Augustine in his *Commentary on 1 John*, which was naturally known to Oecolampadius. Augustine's argument, which does not concern itself with the distinction between the living and the dead saints, does not seem to have been taken as model by Oecolampadius but was almost certainly used by Zwingli in the 67 *Schlussreden*.

Augustine, after raising the question, "Sed dicet aliquis: ergo sancti non petunt pro nobis?" answers *yes* the saints do intercede. However, his explanation of the process makes it clear that by *saints* he means the living praying for one another,

²⁷ Z 1.460.

with Christ being the only one who *prays for all*: "Oramus pro vobis fratres sed et vos orate pro nobis. Invicem pro se omnia membra orent, caput pro omnibus interpellat."²⁸

Like Zwingli after him, Augustine makes a qualitative distinction between the intercession of Christ and the less efficacious intercession of the living saints. In the same *Commentary* and indeed à propos of the same passage, Oecolampadius cites 1 Timothy 2:5 but without elaborating upon his basic argument. 1 Timothy 2:5 was commented on in the context of the saints from the beginning of the Reformation. For the Fathers, and more particularly for Augustine, it constituted a proof of Christ's two natures. In 1525, Bugenhagen in his *Annotationes in Epistolas Pauli* (205) makes in connexion with 1 Timothy 2:5 the very point that was made by Zwingli in the *Schlussreden* (after Augustine) "orant sancti qui sunt in terris pro se mutuo et exaudiuntur a Deo sed per Christum mediatorem, sicut ipse promittit."²⁹ However, unlike Augustine and, for that matter, Zwingli in the *Schlussreden*, Bugenhagen makes explicit the role (or rather the lack of role) played by the dead saints. "De defunctis sanctis qui orent pro te Scripturam et Verbum Dei non habes" [206].³⁰

However, Bugenhagen's argument is very general and, therefore, open to the "absence does not mean exclusion" line of attack adopted by Eck. Thus, it could not be of much help to Oecolampadius, even if we assume that it was known to him. The Zwinglian exegesis did not take into account the distinction between living and dead saints, and so could not furnish Oecolampadius with any ammunition against the Roman Catholics either.³¹

In his *De veneratione sanctorum* (Paris, 1523), which constituted the primary source of doctrine for later Roman Catholic controversialists (including Eck), Josse Clichtove cites 1 Timothy 2:5 to show that Christ is indeed the sole mediator and it is he who permits, in his kindness, lesser creatures to share in his mediatorship:

It is not because of the inadequacy of the chief mediator that they assume the charge of interceding for us, but because of his kind desire to share his incredible humanity. He thus wanted others to be mediators with him and co-operate in bringing about men's salvation, so that with there being a number of intercessors, our prayers may be heard better and our pleas granted more easily.³²

²⁸ *Ad. loc.*, MPL 35.1984: "We pray for you brothers but you too must pray for us. All members should pray for one another, with the head interceding for all."

²⁹ "The saints on earth pray for one another and are heard by God but only through Christ the mediator, as he promised himself."

³⁰ "The Scripture and the Word of God make no mention of any dead saints praying for you."

³¹ Did Oecolampadius not read Zwingli's first *Reply* which could have provided him with more adequate ammunition? See *infra*, 63ff.

³² Lib. 2, cap. 12, 72r-v.: "Non quidem ex primi mediatoris insufficientia, in eam asciti provinciam patrocinandi pro nobis, sed ex benigna ipsius communicatione, qui pro sua incredibili humanitate voluit et alios esse secum mediatores et cooperatores ad salutem hominum, ut multiplicatis intercessoribus magis exaudibilis fiat oratio nostra et facilius postulatum impetratio."

Eck, familiar as he was with the *De veneratione*, of which he had already made use in the *Enchiridion*, was perfectly prepared for Oecolampadius putting forward 1 Timothy 2:5 as an argument against the worship of saints.

What of Job 42:8? The person of Job was interpreted in various ways but most theologians adopted Gregory the Great's exegesis³³ in which Job stands for the Church. Gregory makes the further point that heretics (Job's friends) cannot be reconciled to God directly but only through the Church. This interpretation is adopted by the *Glossa ordinaria* where it is also specified that Job stands for the *catholica fides*. Nicholas of Lyra, however, takes Job to stand for the just man whom God allows to offer sacrifice for the unjust ("ut iustus offerat sacrificium pro iniustus") and it is this exegesis which most probably inspires the first Roman Catholic controversialists of the Reformation, such as Josse Clichtove, to cite Job 42:8 in defence of intercession and worship of the saints.

In his *De veneratione sanctorum*, Clichtove cites the passage in the twelfth chapter of book one, entitled "Quod sancti sint a nobis orandi multiplici ratione et Scripturae etiam sanctae testimonio ostendi" with the following comment:

Thus the Lord shows that it is pleasing to him if we have recourse to the merits of prayers of others, to obtain the Lord's favour for us. He thus implies that we should beseech the saints to give us their aid.³⁴

In other words, it is God who commands that we pray to the saints. This interpretation of Job 42:8 was also familiar to Eck at the time when he wrote the *Enchiridion*, and it is interesting to note that he was able to make such skillful use of it in Baden.

The Roman Catholic attack was better prepared than the reformers' defence at Baden. It is plain that by 1526 a new doctrine of intercession of saints had taken shape. It was particularly dangerous to the reformers in that it stressed the unique mediatorship of Christ, relied on Biblical texts and showed that the worship of saints was divinely ordained, although the Scripture did not recommend it in so many words.

THESIS FOUR

[*The Images of the Lord Jesus and the Saints must not be Removed*]³⁵

In his recent book *Der Ikonoklasmus des Westens* Helmut Feld, in the chapter on the Baden Disputation, emphasises Eck's attachment to the consensus of the

³³ *Moralia* ad loc., MPL 76.756.

³⁴ [32v.] "Quo sane in opere ostendit [Dominus] gratum sibi id esse, si ad aliorum preces nobis emerendas confugiamus ut prosint nobis illae apud Dominum subinsinuatque eodem in facto sanctorum nobis implorandum esse auxilium."

³⁵ Cf. *Hendricks*, 575; *Disputacion* Ec, 4r. ff.: "Des herren Jhesu unnd des heiligen billdnuss sinnnd nit abzethun."

Church and his aggressiveness but does not attempt to explain why Eck's opponents could find no adequate counterarguments.³⁶

In fact Eck's basic argument remains the same as in the previous three theses. The Ingolstadt theologian tries to show that the absence of a clear Scriptural injunction to do X does not mean that X is forbidden by the Scripture. It is particularly interesting to compare Eck's arguments in the disputation to those advanced by him in his treatise *De non tollendis Christi et sanctorum imaginibus contra haeresim Felicianam sub Carolo Magno damnatam et . . . sub Carolo V renascentem decisio* published on 8 May 1522. In *De non tollendis*, Eck's demonstration is based not on the Scripture but on tradition. First of all he demonstrates that the worship of images originated with God who made himself visible through the Incarnation:

Being invisible he became visible. For just as he made his presence perceptible to the human eyes, so a painter could make manifest to human senses and vision that which he had seen previously.³⁷

Moreover, Christ initiated image worship in one sense of the term when he sent a handkerchief bearing the imprint of his face to King Abgarus, an event which is reliably recounted by no lesser a historian than Eusebius of Caesarea!³⁸ In view of this evidence, Eck concludes "let human temerity stop its calumnies of the use of images in the Church, a custom initiated by our Lord himself?" ("desinat ergo humana temeritas imaginum usum in ecclesia calumniari qui Dominum Deum nostrum habet autorem et inceptorem" [a3v.]).

Thus initiated, the cult was carried on by the apostles. Eck cites here the testimony of John of Damascus according to whom "non fatuito adoramus ad orientem sed ex patrum et apostolorum traditione" (a3v.).³⁹

After demonstrating the origins of image worship with the aid of several legends but no analysis of Scriptural passages, Eck sets out to show why images are useful. He cites John of Damascus and Gregory the Great who both consider images as profitable for instructing the illiterate. Moreover, they encourage the faithful to imitate that which is portrayed and increase devotion. One of the best examples, according to Eck, is Saint Francis:

Who can fathom the total ardour and blazing devotion of Saint Francis, who embraced the image of Christ with such great devotion and burnt with such a flame of love that the stigmata of the passion were transmitted to him?⁴⁰

³⁶ Leiden, 1990, 143–147.

³⁷ a2v.: "Cum invisibilis factus sit visibilis. Sicut enim oculis humanis obicit praesentiam suam, ita et pictor prius visa potuit exhibere humano sensui et visui."

³⁸ Eusebius-Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.*, 1.13, GCS 9:1.86–89. Cf. also Eck, *Enchiridion* (CC34), 192.

³⁹ Cf. John of Damascus, *De fide orthodoxa* 4.16, MPG 94.1173.

⁴⁰ b2r-v.: "Quis vel cogitare sufficit totius mentis ardorem ac animi flammam in sancto Francisco dum Christi imaginem tam forti imaginatione complexus est, tanto flagravat incendio, ut ab illo stigmatis suae passionis instar donatus fuerit?"

Several chapters are then devoted by Eck to showing that only heretics have ever been opposed to image worship.

Most of the sources he cites concern Western iconoclasm, a fact in itself hardly surprising as the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea were not published until 1540.⁴¹ What is more surprising is that here, and indeed in the *Enchiridion*⁴² Eck's sources are obviously not of the best quality as he confuses iconoclasm in the reign of Charlemagne with Adoptianism! Thus chapter thirteen of *De non tollendis* is entitled "Haeresis Faeliciana imagines tollens in Francfurto damnatur sub Carolo"[!]. It is the Frankfurt Council of 794 that is meant. Ironically, that Council is famous for two condemnations; it did indeed repudiate Felix of Urgel and his Adoptianism, but it also condemned the decree of the Second Council of Nicaea on the worship of icons, probably through a misunderstanding of the distinction made between *latreia* and *proskiñesis*.

Was the linking of the *haeresis Felicianiana* with iconoclasm simply a misreading of the Council of Frankfurt or a deliberate twisting of it? It is interesting to note that Bernard of Luxembourg's *Catalogus haereticorum* describes the "haeresis Felicianiana" correctly as Adoptianism in its 1523 edition, citing as its source Aquinas' *Summa th.* 3a q 23 a.4. The 1526 edition contains the following (wrong) additional information under the entry heading *Felicianiana heresis*. "Ista heresis nitebatur ab ecclesia auferre sanctorum imagines et in Concilio Francfordensi in Mogono fuit damnata, in quo Concilio legati sedis Apostolice presidentes fuerunt, Theophilactus et Stephanus episcopi."⁴³

Eck makes a point of identifying the "iconoclastic Felician heresy" with the reformers as he affirms (c2r.):

If rumours are to be believed, the Felician heresy is spreading again from the North, it originates with Luther, Karlstadt and Melanchthon, all men cut off from the Church of God.⁴⁴

The adversaries' Biblical arguments against image worship are repudiated in the final four chapters of *De non tollendis* with arguments drawn chiefly from tradition, notably the works of John of Damascus and Augustine.

In fact, as he knew neither the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea nor the *Libri Carolini*, Eck's defence of images in 1522 was drawn very largely from *De fide orthodoxa* of John of Damascus. Thus, he reproduced the doctrine of the Second Nicaean Council, which Eck tried to pass off as a Western doctrine by imposing it on Augustine. Parallel to the doctrine of relative honour Eck expounded the

⁴¹ *Concilium Nicenum . . . Opus nunc recens inventum et e Graeco versum per G. Longolium*, Köln, Peter Quentel, 1540.

⁴² CC 34.193 ff.

⁴³ "This heresy strove to remove the images of the saints and was condemned by the Council of Frankfurt am Main, chaired by the bishops Theophylact and Stephen as legates of the apostolic see."

⁴⁴ "Si fama vera est, Faeliciana haeresis ab Aquilone iterum panditur Luddero, Carlstato et Melanchthone hominibus ab ecclesia Dei praecisis, autoribus."

purely Western conception of images as teaching aids, doctrine first put forward by Gregory the Great against Serennius.⁴⁵

Most of Eck's arguments are drawn from history, treated more or less cavalierly, some are drawn from legends. The Bible is referred to little and stands in a subordinate position. The argument of unwritten tradition is considered unassailable.

By the time of the Baden Disputation both the tone and the structure of Eck's arguments had altered significantly, although his basic theology remained unchanged.

In answer to Heinrich Linck's of Schaffhausen opening Zwinglian argument, that John 4:4 as well as several passages in the Old Testament show that God does not want to be worshipped through images, Eck affirms that an image does not stop spiritual worship.

All God forbids is the worship of images, as if they were Gods. Our prayers must be addressed not to the image but to that which the image represents. No passage of Scripture prohibits commemorative images or ones used for the purposes of instruction. As throughout the disputation, so here Eck makes full use of his opponents' uncertainty about how to apply the *sola Scriptura* principle. He points out that Linck argues that images should be forbidden because God did not order them to be made. But Christ did not *order* children to be baptised yet we baptise them! He did not order Sunday to be celebrated yet we celebrate it.⁴⁶

Linck reacts by attempting to show that the Scripture does forbid the worship of images. He argues that the Old Testament expressions "idolum, simulachrum mögent verdütscht werden uff unser sprach als bilder und bildtnissen." Images were the object of worship for a long time; they have no didactic value as Scripture itself suffices to teach. God does not forbid images as such, but only the worship of them. Linck stresses that he agrees with Eck that no sincere Christian would ever worship images as if they were Gods but there are many "schwachen und klein gloubigen" that do so.

Linck's defence contains two major lacunae; first he does not use the Scripture as basis, and second he shows himself (perhaps inadvertently) not to share Zwingli's viewpoint.

Eck is very quick to pick up on both the shortcomings, and indeed on Linck's ignorance of the Biblical languages:

In all this long blah-blah Herr Heinrich shows himself to be quite Scriptureless and a very kind disputant, for he has not and cannot answer my main point, which is that he has misunderstood the Scriptural passages he cited against images.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ On this see *Feld*, 12 ff. and bibliography.

⁴⁶ Argument he had already used against Oecolampadius in the thesis on the sacrifice of the mass.

⁴⁷ GgIr.-v.: "In dissen langen tandt ist Her heinrich gantz gschriftlos und gantz ein barmhertziger disputierer, dan das fürnemet miner antwurt ist daruff gestanden das er die geschrift wider die bilder ingefiert, gefelschet hab, das er mit keinem wort verantwurt und nit verantwurten kan."

Eck proceeds to demonstrate that *idolum* means a “false god” as all small children know. As for the teaching value of Scripture that is all well and good, but what about the illiterate? After emphasising the differences between Linck and his more overtly iconoclastic “brother” Zwingli, Eck once again stresses the didactic function of images:

But truly images are of use to Christians, the learned [!] are taught by them; images teach and admonish; but he still stands up and says without Scriptural support that God does not like images and will not have them.⁴⁸

Linck has shown him nothing from the Scripture to make him depart from the “loblichen bruch der gantzen christlichen kirchen.”

The next protestant disputant, Johannes Hess, is refuted no less easily, this time with the other fundamental tenet of Eck’s doctrine of images, namely, that the image is worshipped for the sake of that which it represents. Hess’ argument admittedly is even more inept than Linck’s. He affirms that he believes first and foremost in God and in Him only. He explains, without specifying that images are forbidden by the Bible, because there is only one God who should be worshipped.

Eck has no difficulty countering with John of Damascus’ defence of images, although here, unlike in *De non tollendis*, he does not mention the Greek theologian by name. This theology is then explained again by Eck, with the aid of several Biblical references, to Dominik Zili,⁴⁹ his next opponent. This time Eck refers to Gregory and the Councils that condemned the Iconoclasts as heretics. In reply to Hess’ assertion that he will obey Gregory and the Councils so long as they teach in accordance with the will of God, Eck can safely answer that Gregory knew the Scripture rather better than Hess and thus accuses his opponents once again of relying excessively upon their own wisdom. Moreover, exploiting the anti-Iconoclast tendencies of the gathering, Eck does his best to open up the gap between the Baden disputants and Zwingli, and to place the Zürich reformer in the heretical camp.

Oecolampadius, who speaks last, fares no better, and Eck wins again. Between 1522 and 1526 he has not altered his theology of images. His method of expounding his theology, however, has evolved. Eck has taken over the *sola Scriptura* method of argument and made it subordinate to the consensus of the Church and tradition. It is very interesting to note that, in Baden at least, not one of his opponents seems able to free the Scripture from the stranglehold of the Church that Eck has so skillfully imposed upon it.

⁴⁸ Gg2r.-v.: “Aber in warheit dienen die bilder wol den christen, das die geloerten [!] dar durch ermant werden; die bilder leren und ermanen, noch stadt er uff sinen sträffeln und sagt on geschriff, Got hab kein wolgefallen an den bilden und het des kein brieff.”

⁴⁹ Cf. DHBS 7.437. Dominik Zili (d. 1542) was the author of first collection of hymns for the use of the reformed Swiss churches (1533).

THESIS FIVE

[*There is a Purgatorial Fire after this Life*]⁵⁰

The arguments put forward by the Protestants here are so inept and incoherent that Eck, in countering them, does not need to go beyond an able, partial restatement of the standard mediaeval doctrine of purgatory.

In 1523, writing *De purgatorio* against Luther, Eck had worked out a tripartite defence of purgatory. In the first part of the work he had demonstrated the Biblical foundation of the doctrine, citing notably 1 Corinthians 3:12–15; 2 Macchabees 12:43–46; Matthew 5:25; Matthew 12:31 f., and showed that all the Fathers and later authorities, beginning with Augustine, had interpreted the passages in support of the doctrine of purgatory.

In the second part, entitled *Docet animas purgandas esse certas de salute sua*, Eck had shown by references to Scripture and tradition that contrary to Luther's affirmations, souls in purgatory do not despair of their eventual salvation. In the third and final part, the Ingolstadt theologian had disproved Luther's contention that souls in purgatory performed good works over and above what they had performed on earth.

Already in the *Enchiridion*, Eck had greatly simplified his defence of the doctrine of purgatory, confining himself to citing the Biblical passages 1 Corinthians 3:12–15; 2 Macchabees 12; Matthew 5:25, 12:31; and to stressing the support for the doctrine in the writings of the Fathers. He mentioned notably Augustine's *De cura pro mortuis agenda* which defends prayers for the dead not just on the authority the Bible but also on the authority of the Church, and naturally *De his qui in fide dormierunt* attributed at the time to John of Damascus, and available in the Latin translation of Oecolampadius! Pseudo-Dionysius and Chrysostom were also mentioned by Eck as advocating prayers for the dead.⁵¹

All in all, Eck was very well prepared in Baden and had no difficulty rebutting his first opponent Mathias Kessler,⁵² who argued that the Scripture contains no mention of the doctrine of purgatory and cited Mark 16:15, John 3:15, and Galatians 2:16 to show that man is saved by faith and by faith only.

In his reply, Eck accuses Kessler of putting forward irrelevant texts and cites Galatians 5:6. Obviously, continues Eck, Kessler does not know what faith is, as he considers good works to be "dependent on faith as sun's rays are dependent on the sun." This is quite false and against 1 Corinthians 13:2. Someone can die in faith and charity but without having satisfied for some sins. He will be saved by fire, as Paul says in 1 Corinthians 3:12–15.

⁵⁰ Cf. Hendricks, 575; *Disputacion*, Kk 4v. ff.: "Nach dissem leben ist ein fegfür."

⁵¹ Cf. *Enchiridion* (CC 34), 260–266. On Oecolampadius' version of *De his qui in fide dormierunt* see Irena Backus, *What prayers for the dead in the Tridentine period?* to appear in the *Festschrift for Gottfried Locher, Zwingliana*, vol. 19.

⁵² From St. Gallen where he introduced the reformed doctrines; died in Hundwil where he was pastor, 1530–1543. Cf. DHBS 4.345.

Various other opponents come forward, yet, as we shall see, they fared no better than Kessler. What Eck in fact does is to pare down the arguments he had already put forward in *De purgatorio* and the *Enchiridion*. While his Scriptural proof texts remain by and large unchanged, Eck refers hardly, if at all, to tradition. Instead of arguing that, for example, 1 Corinthians 3:12–15 must refer to purgatory because Augustine and others have said it does, he argues by applying his dogma of purgatory to the Biblical passages in question. Tradition, naturally, does not disappear from Eck's purview, but references to particular Christian authors give place to general statements about the relationship between Scripture and Church tradition. In some of these statements Eck appears to meet the reformers halfway and he thus renders ineffectual their most characteristic arguments.

Thus, Johannes Hess,⁵³ who cites various Old and New Testament passages to show that we shall be freely redeemed from Adam's fault through Christ, and who mentions the tenth Article of the Apostles' Creed ("resurrection of the flesh and eternal life"), is countered with accusations of ignorance of Scripture.

Burgauer⁵⁴ who comes to Hess' rescue, meets Eck more than halfway as he admits that he has never preached against purgatory, although he takes the term not as Eck does, in the sense of a *place*, but in the sense of man's capacity to merit or unmerit his own felicity. For Scripture promises nothing between "eternal life" and "damnation."

Eck stresses that he cannot disagree with Burgauer's basic point, that God's mercy is imparted through the sacrifice of his only Son. But, and this is the strength of all of Eck's arguments in the Baden Disputation, faith in this does not *disprove* purgatory for which there is ample support in the Scripture and in tradition.

Eck is particularly eager to refute in this fashion the Zwinglian position that Luke 16:15 ff. goes against the doctrine of purgatory. It is true, admits Eck, that only two places are mentioned, "hell" and "the bosom of Abraham." This, however, does not preclude the existence of a third or a fourth, for *heaven* is not mentioned there either. Would Burgauer contend then that there is no heaven?

Having already gone some way towards meeting the Protestant doctrines of redemption, the *sola Scriptura* and faith, Eck takes one step further in accusing Burgauer of not understanding the concept of sin. Eck's exact words are "so sag ich das ein frommer man ouch in eim guten werck täglich sinden mag, wie Bernhardus erzelt."

The reader need hardly be reminded that man's incapacity to do any good whatsoever, even in his good works, was one of Luther's principal beliefs! Indeed "in omni opere bono iustus peccat" was one of the accusations against the reformer in the *Bahnandrohungsbulle*⁵⁵ and elsewhere. Eck was perfectly aware of this, so

⁵³ From Appenzell. Cf. J. Willi, *Reformation im Lande Appenzell*, Berne, 1924, 86–87.

⁵⁴ See DHBS 2.350. Benedict Burgauer (1494–1576), pastor in Schaffhausen, then after rejecting Zwingli's doctrine of the eucharist in favour of Luther's, pastor in Lindau and Isny.

⁵⁵ See Denzinger, *Enchiridion symbolorum*, no. 1481.

much so that he devoted a large part of the chapter on faith and works in the *Enchiridion* to refuting Luther's position. That part of chapter five in the *Enchiridion* is in fact entitled "Propositio secunda. Iustus non peccat in omni opere bono."⁵⁶ It contains no reference to Bernard of Clairvaux, and no suggestion that a pessimistic view of human good works could be considered theologically respectable.

Why the change in the Baden Disputation, if, that is, one can speak of a change of theological position in any real sense of the word? In fact, it is much more likely that Eck is either simply taunting an adversary whom he knows to be vastly inferior or that he is profiting from the split between Zwinglians and Lutherans to adopt Luther's position temporarily and purely for the sake of argument.

Wolfgang Jufly⁵⁷ from St. Gallen who questions the canonicity of Macchabees and who interprets 1 John 5:16 as referring to sins on this earth only, makes no great impression on Eck who simply asks for further justification. Oecolampadius, who elaborates upon Jufly's arguments citing further Scriptural passages fares no better.

Eck's answer to the problem of noncanonicity of the Book of Macchabees is particularly interesting. He rightly makes the point that it is only from tradition that we can know which books are canonical. Oecolampadius and his party are therefore trying to have it both ways; if the Roman Church pleads tradition, they take refuge behind Holy Scripture. If on the other hand, the Roman Church appeals to the Scripture, Oecolampadius and his supporters invoke tradition.⁵⁸

As for the rest, it is not up to Eck to bring forward Scriptural proofs. It is Oecolampadius' job to "put out the purgatorial fire" with Biblical passages. Without going into further detail, Eck then states that his interpretation of 1 Corinthians 3:12-15 is in accord with the Church's tradition. The Protestants cannot agree on the interpretation of the passage, he adds in conclusion; Luther in Leipzig took Paul to mean the fire of the Last Judgement, Oecolampadius takes 1 Corinthians 3:12-15 to allude to the burning of temptations that Christians will have to endure on this earth.

Eck's intellectual unscrupulousness here deserves a mention. It is Augustine who refers the *fire* in 1 Corinthians 3:12-15 to both the Last Judgement and the purgatorial fire; Eck and Luther simply seize on those aspects of his exegesis which they find the most relevant to their own position. Oecolampadius' exegesis is no less traditional being also that of Augustine!⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Cf. *Enchiridion* (CC 34), 92.

⁵⁷ In fact Wolfgang Wetter (d. 1536), determined advocate of the Reformation from 1525. His books constitute the foundation of St. Gallen Public Library.

⁵⁸ The nature of argument for the canonicity of Biblical books will surface again at the Berne Disputation.

⁵⁹ On the three Augustinian interpretations see Joachim Gnllka, *1st 1 Kor.3:10-15 ein Schriftzeugnis für das Fegfeuer? Eine exegetisch-historische Untersuchung*, Düsseldorf, 1955.

CONCLUSION

The Disputation ends, at least in the short term, with a clear victory by Eck, who simply turns out to be a better theologian than his opponents. Not only does he know his Bible better than the reformers, he also manages to apply the reformed disputation principle of proving the truth of one passage of Scripture by citing another passage better than they do. Furthermore, he shows himself to be more flexible than his opponents, so that he assimilates Luther's doctrines (notably on the question of real presence and the purgatory) without in any way compromising his own. What gives Eck this freedom is partly his own dialectical skill and partly the fact that none of the theses challenges the function of the Roman Church as the ultimate court of appeal. Thus, whatever he happens to be asserting at any given time, Eck can always claim that he is defending the orthodox Roman doctrine, which in any case is not that different from Luther's teachings.

Oecolampadius and his party are thus driven into a corner. Isolated from Luther and from the Roman Church, they are left wide open to Eck's identification of them with ancient heresies. Moreover, they seem quite unable to apply their own Scriptural argument principle and frequently take refuge in arguments drawn from philosophy and tradition, thus again playing into Eck's hands.

However, Oecolampadius was not the prime target. Eck wanted to condemn the absent Zwingli and this turned out to be no simple matter, partly because of the political structure of the Confederation, and partly because Zwingli was busy replying to Eck in writing.

IV

Zwingli's Attempt to Repair the Damage

DIE ERSTE ANTWORT (21 MAY 1526)

There is no doubt that Zwingli weakened his political position by not appearing in Baden, and that his two *Replies*¹ to Eck's seven theses which were posted up on the Baden Church and Town Council door on 19 May, could be seen simply as frantic attempts to avoid being put in the position of an outsider. However, on reading the two short treatises, one cannot help but note their theological angle and concern. Given that the first *Reply* came out on 21 May 1526, in the first days of the Disputation, and the second on 3 June, before the end of the debates, we can assume that Zwingli from the outset had no great confidence in Oecolampadius' capacities as a theological debater apt to defend Zürich's position. As the first *Reply* shows, Zwingli knew that it was the question of the real presence that would turn out to be decisive, and it is Eck's first thesis "The true body of Christ and his blood are present in the sacrament of the altar"² which he counters at greatest length and in most detail. Unlike Oecolampadius in Baden, Zwingli makes sure that he anticipates Eck's attempts to assimilate the Scriptural method of argument and point up the disagreement between Zürich and Wittenberg.

Thus, he begins by citing John 6:63 and 3:6 which he interprets in the "Augustinian" sense of Christ's body serving no purpose. This is followed by a longer chain of quotations—Matthew 26:11, 28:20; John 16:28; Mark 13:21; Acts 1,11—to show that Christ's body left the earth and is no longer present. Unlike his Basle colleague, Zwingli accompanies his Biblical quotations with the very minimum

¹ *Die erst kurtze antwort über Eggen sibem schlussreden . . . Am XXI tags Mey, 1526*, in Z 5.171–195 (Latin translation published as appendix to *Quibus praeiudiciis in Baden Hebetiorum sit disputatum Epistola Antonii Haliæ. Item Septem Conclusiones doctoris Johannis Eckii cum responsionibus Hulderichi Zwinglii . . .* This translation was not known to the editor of Z 5); *Die ander antwort über etlich unwarhaft unchristenlich antwurten die Egg uff der disputation ze Baden gegeben hat . . .* Zürich, Johann Hager, 1526, in Z 5.207–236.

² Z 5.181: "Der waar fronlychnam Christi und sin blut ist gegenwürtig im sacrament des altars."

of commentary. It is the concatenation of Biblical passages that constitutes the backbone and the focal point of his argument. Such comments as there are, are calculated to appeal to his readers' feelings, for example, after the reference to Mark 13:21 "thus we should not believe Eck, Fabri and all those who say: look, he is here in the sacrament, for Mark's words apply only to Christ's human nature, as his divine nature is everywhere."³

Again, unlike Oecolampadius, Zwingli devotes very little attention to the discussion of the exact meaning of *das ist min lychnam/hoc est corpus meum*. To avoid getting entangled in dialectical complexities, Zwingli discusses this statement in the context not of Matthew 26:29 but of Luke 22:19. Where Oecolampadius will waste days discussing what *das/hoc* refers to in *das ist myn lyb* in Matthew, Zwingli settles the matter out of hand. If the word *lychnam* in *das ist min lychnam, der für üch hingeben wirt* [Luke 22:19] is made to refer to the bread, that means that the bread is crucified for us. But, Zwingli admits that Christ in uttering these words is pointing to the bread. The solution to the problem is the by now classic Zwinglian postulation that Christ's words here have a symbolic meaning and that in pointing to the bread Christ is in fact saying "this is the commemoration of my body. . . ."

There follows another chain of quotations—Acts 7:55; Matthew 24:23; Matthew 26:64—showing that Christ's body is located on the right hand of God and nowhere else. So far, it is worth noting, Zwingli has had no explicit recourse to tradition and has made his Biblical passages, although chosen in full awareness of the exegetical tradition behind them, speak for him. Now, however, he openly accuses all those who think that Christ's resurrected flesh has special status and can be everywhere of falling into the error of Marcion.⁴ For, continues the Zürich reformer, Luke 24:31; John 20:24 ff.; Matthew 28:7.10.16; and Mark 16:6 all show that Christ's resurrected body was never seen to be in more than one place at once.

Is the accusation of Marcionite heresy aimed only at the Lutheran doctrine of real presence? Has Zwingli suddenly shifted ground? On the contrary, the conclusion to his arguments against Eck's first thesis suggests that the accusation is levelled against Roman Catholics as well as against the supporters of Luther. For Zwingli cites no lesser a document than the *Decree of Gratian* in support of the doctrine that Christ's resurrected body must be in one place.⁵

³ Z 5.183: "So söllend wir ye Eggen, Fabern und allen menschen nit glouben, so sy sprechend: sich er ist hie imm sacrament; denn das müss allein von der menschlichen natur verstanden werden; dann die götlich ist allenthalb."

⁴ Accusation based most probably on Zwingli's reading of Tertullian's *Adversus Marcionem* or *De carne Christi*. Similar accusation was levelled against the Lutherans by Bucer. Cf. *Martini Bucerii Enarratio in Evangelion Iohannis* (1528, 1530, 1536), ed. I. Backus (Leiden, 1988), 142, 459.

⁵ Z 5.186: "Hatt der bapst in sinen eignen rechten, *De consecratione* dist.2.ca prima [*Decretum Gratiani* c. 44, dist. 11 *De consecratione*, Friedberg 1, 1330.] also: 'Der lychnam in dem er uferstanden ist, muss an eim ort sin'. Ach got, was könnend hiewider alle bāpstler?"

In a few pages Zwingli does what Oecolampadius will be unable to do in the course of several days. By a judicious manipulation of carefully chosen Biblical passages he makes it seem as if the Bible proves conclusively that Christ's resurrected flesh is in one place only, in heaven, and therefore, not in the bread. Moreover, he groups Lutherans and Roman Catholics as reviving the heresy of Marcion and thus going against the very canon law which for Roman Catholics, is the ultimate court of appeal.

Having thus dismantled the doctrine of real presence, Zwingli has no need to disprove Eck's second thesis "Christ's body and blood are really sacrificed in the office of the mass for the living and for the dead."⁶ He simply recommends his readers to read the whole of Hebrews and Romans 6, both of which demonstrate that if we had to sacrifice Christ in the mass, it would show that his own sacrifice on the cross had been inadequate. As we have seen, the references to the Epistle to the Hebrews will provide the starting point and the backbone of Haller's argument against the sacrifice of the mass. Was Zwingli's first *Reply* intended to give his party a tip on how to argue against the sacrifice of the mass? Perhaps. But the tip turned out to be worse than useless for two reasons. First, Zwingli's argument could only be applied if the doctrine of real presence was disproved. Second, it assumed an exegetical competence that Haller simply did not have, so that he cited passages of the Scripture without being certain of their sense.

To return to Zwingli's first *Reply* (where the Zürich reformer has the added advantage of having no adversary present), it contains a somewhat longer refutation of Eck's third thesis "Mary and the saints should be honoured and called upon as intercessors."⁷ Zwingli in this instance can be said to give his party an excellent tip on how to counter what will turn out to be Eck's main argument "Christ's intercessorship does not preclude the existence of other intercessors." Once again, one cannot help but admire the way in which Zwingli foresees the possible line of attack and addresses himself to a comparison between the living and the dead saints.

After stating briefly that in honoring Jesus he and his party also honor Mary and anticipating an argument which was in fact not used, Zwingli states plainly that we should pray for one another on this earth but only so that Christ can grant us the object of our prayers. There is Biblical support for this but there is no Biblical support for dead saints (i.e., the elect) interceding with Christ on our behalf. Those who make saints intercede for the living do it because they are afraid to come directly before God. They thus insult both God and the saints. Christ in Matthew 6:9 teaches us to address ourselves to the heavenly Father and not to Saint Clare. Similarly, pursues Zwingli, in Matthew 11:28 the Lord invites those who are weary and heavy laden to come to him and not to Saint Christopher.⁸ Matthew 11:28 particularly will be used by Oecolampadius but not to much effect.

⁶ Z 5.187: "Die werdend ouch warlich uf geopfret imm ampt der mäss für läbend und todt."

⁷ Z 5.188: "Maria und die heiligen sol wir eren und anrufen als fürbitter."

⁸ Z 5.190.

Zwingli then anticipates the use of 1 John 2:1 and 1 Timothy 2:5 in the Baden debate. Both show, according to him, that Christ is the sole intercessor, but why should that exclude intercession by the elect, especially as they are part of the same Church as the living? Zwingli has recourse to a logical argument here which could well have been put to good use by Oecolampadius in his debate with Eck. If the saints in heaven pray for us, they also pray for one another, and if they pray for one another, they obviously cannot be considered as the elect or the saints. It is interesting to note that Oecolampadius was not to refer to this argument in Baden.

A similar failure to apply Zwingli's arguments could be noted in the discussion of the fourth thesis "images of Christ and the saints are not to be done away with."⁹ As we saw, one of the most remarkable features of Protestant arguments against images at Baden was the very limited use that the Bible was put to. When Linck, Hess, and Zili did use Biblical arguments, they tended to turn to the Old Testament. Moreover, they used their arguments, Biblical or otherwise, in such a way that Eck had no difficulty maintaining his basic view point that all God forbade was the worship of images *as if they were Gods*, and not the worship of images as pointing to God.

Zwingli was fully aware of the sort of arguments that would be used by Eck. He begins his reply to the fourth thesis by saying that all images that are *worshipped* should be pulled down (however they are worshipped). Images of God and the saints can, however, be maintained for purely esthetic purposes. Zwingli then gives a long chain of references to the Pauline Epistles as well as to Acts and the Epistles of Peter and John to show that the apostles themselves spoke out explicitly against image worship. The Catholics concludes Zwingli, are not justified in contending that the apostles only forbade the worship of images as if they were idols.

The raw materials for attacking Eck's fundamental tenet were thus available. Once again they were apparently not made use of by the Baden disputants, any more than the crucial argument put forward by Zwingli in his attack on the fifth thesis "There is purgatorial fire after this life."¹⁰ Curiously, the Zürich reformer does not refer to 1 Corinthians 3:12-15 which was to provide the focal point for the Baden discussions. After citing John 5:24 and Mark 16:16 as proof texts for salvation by faith, Zwingli points out that if purgatory is a consequence of Christ's coming, then paradoxically those who had faith before the Incarnation fared better than the latter-day faithful, for the pre-Incarnation faithful were simply transported to the bosom of Abraham whereas the post-Incarnation ones have to first accomplish the act of cleansing themselves by purgatorial fire. Thus, Christ's coming was to them neither useful nor adequate.

Theses six and seven dealing respectively with the original sin and the distinction between John's and Christ's baptism were not disputed in Baden.

⁹ Z 5.191: "Des herren Jesu und der heligen biltus sind nit abzetun."

¹⁰ Z 5.192: "Nach disem läben ist ein fägfür."

DIE ANDERE ANTWORT (3 JUNE 1526)

Although Zwingli received no answer to his request for Eck's written defence of his theses from Baden,¹¹ he was informed about the proceedings. On 2 June 1526, the discussion of the third thesis, saint worship, began and a day later Zwingli published his second *Reply*. Why he should have done so was no mystery. His party's obvious defeat in the discussion of the first two theses, Gregor Mangolt's report on 1 June of Fabri's triumphant announcement of Roman Catholic victory following on the real presence debates;¹² none of these were factors conducive to security and peace of mind. Zwingli refers to this in his preface after explaining that fears for his life had stopped him from taking part in the debates in person.

He then addresses himself to attacking Eck's defence of the first three theses, something which his supporters failed to do. Two things are striking about Zwingli's remarks. First, he was very well informed about the content of the debates; second, he was acutely aware of the theological import of all that had been said. Thus, he asks to be excused if he reports Eck's arguments according to their sense, not word for word, as he has had no access to the minutes, nor could have had, given the rules of the Disputation. However, we see straightaway that he has seized the import of Eck's defence of the first thesis, for he summarises the thesis thus "Eck's opinion: Christ's body is visibly in heaven but invisibly in the sacrament of the altar."¹³

Zwingli sees rightly, as he already did in the first *Reply*, that there is no point attempting to harmonise the Zürich teaching with that of Wittenberg. He concentrates on his own position as against that expressed by Eck and makes two points. First, Christ himself never distinguishes his "visible" from his "invisible" flesh; second, Eck risks falling into the error of Marcion if he persists with the teaching that the divinised flesh of Christ is present in the sacrament. The first point is tendentious. Eck never made the overt distinction between the visible and the invisible flesh of Christ in the Baden debates; Zwingli must have found the distinction in the *Enchiridion*. The second point shows how powerful a weapon tradition was, even for a theologian as outwardly committed to the literal meaning of the Scripture as Zwingli.

To support his first point, the incoherence of the "visible/invisible" distinction, Zwingli argues dialectically. Had Christ given us his body to eat with the words *this is my body*, then he would have given us his *visible* body to eat. For he says in Luke 22:19 "this is my body that is given for you" and the body is in fact given *visibly*. It follows that in all cases where Christ says "this is my body" he is referring

¹¹ Z 4 no. 86.

¹² Z 8 no. 492.

¹³ Z 5.221: "Eggen meynung. Der lychnam Christi sye sichtbarlich imm himel, aber unsichtbarlich im sacrament des altars."

to his visible body, and Eck falls into the error of Marcion if he teaches that Christ gave his body for us painlessly and invisibly.

However, Eck may retort—continues Zwingli—“is it not possible for God to have Christ’s body sitting visibly on the Father’s right hand *and* invisibly present in the sacrament?” Yes, of course, says Zwingli, but it does not follow that something *is* just because God *could* make it so. God could make Eck into a mule, but it does not follow that Eck *is* a mule. Although the content is very different, we hear in Zwingli’s formulation of this argument echoes of his readings of Henry of Ghent via Pico della Mirandola. According to Henry of Ghent God could have taken on any nature he wanted, but he did not; he chose one particular nature.¹⁴ Zwingli’s theology has undergone no change between the first and the second *Reply*. What is interesting is the evolution in his method. Contrary to what might be expected, he reduces the number of Biblical passages cited in the second *Reply*. Keeping Luke 22:19 as the chief proof text, he shows that every occurrence of “this is my body” logically refers to Christ’s *visible* body, and then makes the general point that just because God can *X*, it does not follow that *X*. Unlike Oecolampadius, Zwingli certainly tackles the fundamental problem posed by Eck of what *this is my body* refers to. Whether Zwingli would have got the better of Eck in the debate, we shall of course never know.

Coming to Zwingli’s treatment of the second thesis, on the sacrifice of the mass, we are struck by the amount of attention Zwingli devotes to it. Obviously, given the development of the Disputation, Zwingli could not afford to dismiss the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass as he had done in the first *Reply*. However, the number and weight of arguments he adduces shows that he must have been more than slightly impressed both by Eck’s performance and by his own party’s incompetence!

He begins by saying that, whatever Eck claims, Haller’s citing of Hebrews against the sacrifice of the mass was quite conclusive. He also admires the Bernese preacher’s perseverance. The latter could have easily replied to Eck’s contention that Daniel 12:9 ff. refers to a sacrifice to be performed until the time of Antichrist with a reference to Daniel 9:24 ff. There Daniel states conclusively, says Zwingli, that all sacrifices will come to an end with the sacrifice of Christ.¹⁵ What Zwingli does in fact is to supplement Haller’s woefully deficient replies to Eck’s arguments.

Having dealt with the Old Testament texts, Zwingli then addresses himself to the historical problem. How old is the sacrifice of the mass? To say, as Eck does, that it is 1500 years old, is no more than a shameful lie, a vicious attempt to mislead the simple believer.¹⁶ The *Canon of the Mass* did not exist before papal times,

¹⁴ See I. Backus, *Randbemerkungen Zwinglis in den Werken von Giovanni Pico della Mirandola* in: *Zwingliana* 18:4.5 (1990:2 + 1991:1), 298.

¹⁵ *Z* 5.228.

perhaps some parts of it are about 900 years old, but certainly no more than that. Moreover, the word *mass* was not used until about the sixth century.¹⁷

As for the apostles themselves, pursues the reformer, neither Luke nor Paul call the eucharist a sacrifice. But this leaves Zwingli with the problem of Erasmus' *oblatio* in Acts 13:2, which Oecolampadius was unable to reply to satisfactorily. Now Zwingli obviously cannot contradict the Erasmian translation of Acts 13:2. He can, however, adduce Erasmus' interpretation and comment on Acts 2:42 which makes no mention of sacrifice of the mass, stating quite unequivocally that the eucharist in New Testament times was a commemoration of Christ's passion and in no sense its reenactment.¹⁸ Zwingli has thus killed two birds with one stone. First, he has clarified the difference between his own teaching and the Roman Catholic doctrine, a difference which, as we saw, Eck tried to gloss over in the Disputation. Second, he has reinstated the reformers as humanists, aware of the latest developments in New Testament scholarship, their status having been compromised by Oecolampadius' inept citing of the Vulgate translation of Acts 13:2.

And finally, Zwingli repeats what he has already said in *Eine klare Unterrichtung vom Nachtmal Christi* and elsewhere, that when the Church Fathers refer to the eucharist as a sacrifice, they are simply using the rhetorical figure of *metonymy*.

Zwingli's defence of the third thesis, saint worship, is less detailed but interesting nonetheless in that it anticipates what will become the main thesis of the Berne Disputation, namely, who or what is the Church and what is its highest authority. Zwingli begins his refutation of the third thesis by noting rightly that Eck was unable to produce a Biblical passage that states explicitly that saints in heaven intercede for the living; Eck's chief authority for this doctrine is thus the consensus of the Church. Zwingli then shows that the Church is in fact the body of the faithful whose sole Head is Christ, and which listens solely to Christ's precepts as they are expressed in the Bible.

There follows a brief reference to Eck's *Pseudologia* with Zwingli justifiably complaining that the Ingolstadt theologian has cited him unfairly and out of context. The second *Reply* ends with a plea for a quick publication of the Acts so that the *Eidgenossen* can see and judge for themselves how perfidious Eck and Fabri are. Eck's debating tactics and his capacity to adapt his theology to different circumstances were, it seems, quite plain to Zwingli. Moreover, the Zürich reformer was obviously aware in June 1526 that all was not lost and that the *Eidgenossen* were not going to be wholehearted in their condemnation of Zürich.

¹⁶ Cf. *Disputacion*, X2r. Z 5.228–229: "Disen schantlichen lug habend sy den einvaltigen also ze glauben ggeben, das sy druff anhin gond und wennend, es sye also."

¹⁷ Cf. Zwingli, *De canone missae epichiresis* in Z 2.567 ff.

¹⁸ Erasmus, *Paraphrasis in Acta*, ad 2,42, LB 7.674.

V

Wider Echoes of the Baden Disputation

QUIBUS PRAEJUDICIIS IN BADEN HELVETIORUM SIT DISPUTATUM EPISTOLA ANTONII HALIEI

This pamphlet was described in detail by Ernst Staehelin¹ who remarked correctly that there appears to be no connexion between it and the *Warhafftige Handlung*.² The author is apparently Johannes Piscatorius from Stein am Rhein whose aim it was to inform the wider Protestant circles about the outcome of the Disputation. According to Staehelin, Piscatorius associated with the Augsburg Protestant circles and would have known notably Balthasar Hubmaier and Hans Denck. They, no doubt, wanted the other side of the story given that the two "official" Augsburg delegates in Baden, "Othmar Ruschinius" and "Mathias Kretz," were both Roman Catholics. Any publication by an observer like Halieus would have been welcome, especially given the uncertainties over the publication of the *Acts*.

Unfortunately, Halieus fell ill and could not stay until the end. However, he did assemble a large collection of minutes of such debates as he attended, which he sent to his friends on 10 June, together with the *Epistola* which was published with no indication of printer's name or place.

Although not a theological publication, Halieus' pamphlet is of interest to us here because it conveys something of the ambiance in which the discussions were held. It was this ambiance, not mentioned, needless to say, by the official *Acts*, which may have been partly responsible for Oecolampadius' total inability to refute Eck's arguments.

Thus, Halieus notes that the disputation protocol was infringed upon in various ways. Of the four elected chairmen,³ Barnabas Miles, abbot of Engelberg,

¹ Zwei private Publikationen über die Badender Disputation und ihre Autoren in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 37 (1918), 378-405, esp. 394-405.

² *Ibid.*, 395.

³ *Epistola*, A3r. Cf. also von Muml, 96.

Jakob Stapfer of St. Gallen, Hans Honegger of Bremgarten, and Ludwig Bär,⁴ doctor of Theology from Basle, only the latter retained the appearance of objectivity. The others openly behaved in such a way that there was no doubt whose side they were on.⁵ Every time Eck spoke they applauded and looked eager. Every time Oecolampadius spoke they made noise, stamped their feet, laughed satirically, and were all the time telling him to be brief "etiam ante absolutam responsionem." And, worst of all, Stapfer would occasionally encourage Eck by telling him to be "of good courage and to fight stalwartly against heresies" ("domine doctor esto hilari animo et constanter pugna adversus haereses").

The appointment of secretaries was no more objective, observes our witness correctly. The original intention was to appoint two secretaries for each side and two to supervise so that no unauthorised statement was slipped in.⁶ However, Hugh, the mayor of Lucerne, imposed a fifth secretary (Huber), also from Lucerne. This meant that whenever differences over the minutes arose, the Roman Catholic secretaries had the casting vote. The minutes had to be shown to the chairmen at the end of each day and if necessary amended according to the chairmen's instructions. Moreover, the participants were forbidden to take notes during the disputation. This, according to Halieus, meant that no one would give a true account of what happened in Baden and even if they did, they would not be believed until the appearance of the *Acts* "quae ad Kalendas graecas spero proditura."⁷ Although they are being promised "any day," the *Acts* will never come out because the Roman Catholics will not expose themselves to the light of truth.⁸ Another rule was that whoever wanted to dispute should declare his name and where he came from. This prevented any "surprise attacks:" anyone who gave his name made himself known, and became fair game for Eck's scorn, and derision in which most of the Confederates joined in.⁹

The seventh rule dictated that no one leave the Disputation without the chairmen's permission. This law too, affirms Halieus, was used against the Protestants. For all the "enemies of the Gospel" (in other words, the Roman Catholics) were allowed to leave after the fifth or the sixth day so as to proclaim the Roman Catholic victory as soon as possible.¹⁰

⁴ Paris doctor of Theology. See J. Farge, *Register of Paris doctors of Theology*, no. 22.23-26.

⁵ *Epistola*, A3v.: "Hi omnes praeter Berum (is enim se sic comode taciteque gerebat ut hominis mentem sentire non possem) sic detracta persona ostenderunt animum suum, ut nulli obscurum esset quo propenderent."

⁶ Cf. *von Muralt*, 99.

⁷ *Epistola*, A4v.

⁸ *Ibid.* "Nequeunt pontificii veritatis lucem ferre, non ergo communicabuntur acta."

⁹ *Epistola*, A5r.: "Cum ergo quisque nomen dedisset, iam ad assem notus erat. Ibi risus, dicteria, leodoriae, scommata ac ludibria Eckii, ad quae Helvetiorum legati cum quibusdam eorum crassis episcopis *echleuázon*."

¹⁰ *Epistola*, A5r.: "Haec lex sic servabatur ut post quintum aut sextum diem, si domum mitterentur qui adversus Evangelium stabant . . . Qui cum domum venerunt (ut ex quodam intra triduum audivi) iam iactarunt victorias et ultima fidelibus minati sunt."

Thus, Halieus makes it quite plain that the Disputation was run in such a way as to favour the Roman Catholic party, an observation which comes as no surprise. He is not nearly as unequivocal about the actual contents. After all, having thrown a doubt on the veracity of the *Acts*, it would have been the most natural thing in the world for Halieus to say that the *Acts*, even if they were to appear, would not contain a single word of truth and to give his own true version of the proceedings. However, what Halieus does say is infinitely more ambivalent:

But that which was disputed you will do better to read (if the Confederates turn out to be the men you hoped they were when you sent me off at your expense) in the *Acts* rather than have me try and describe it with immense labour from my notes. Although I myself despair of ever seeing the *Acts*, I will not enclose an immensely detailed account; I will simply summarise the main points rather than describing or putting down everything word for word.¹¹

What follows is in fact not a theological summary but a description of the "human side" of the proceedings. First, Halieus points out, the Protestants were called all the names under the sun, heretics, criminals, thieves, traitors, and were never referred to except by a rude name. Hugh of Lucerne behaved with extreme violence towards a Franciscan from Basle whom he knew to be sympathetic to the Reformation. The discussion between Hugh and the Franciscan was not written down at the request of Eck, who apparently feared that it might prove advantageous to the Protestant side.¹²

Halieus also adverts to an argument between Eck and Oecolampadius at the end of the Disputation, with the Basle reformer asking the secretaries to report his arguments in the minutes and Eck forbidding them to do so. Finally, the secretaries themselves decided that Oecolampadius' argument should be taken down, given that they were bound by an oath.¹³

Moreover, continues Halieus, the chairmen decided from the outset that it would be Eck who would have the last word every day and on every question. Even if Eck talked nonsense and was outargued, he was applauded by his own side, who had a pile of old books and manuscripts ready at hand. Thus, whatever arguments the Protestants put forward they could reply "we have here the oldest

¹¹ *Ibid.*, A5r-v.: "Quae vero disputata sunt, si Helvetii hii viri esse volunt, quos sperabatis cum vestris sumptibus amandaretis, felicius legetis ex actis, quam ego ex annotationibus meis describere multo etiam labore potero. Cum autem ipse de actis desperem, mitto iam immensam farraginem scribere, libentius narraturus capita quam universa verbotenus descripurus nedum conscripturus."

¹² *Epistola* A6r.: "Eccius cum vanissimus esset, monebat ne adscriberentur quae dicebat, ne scilicet in acta referrentur, quae isti secum (ut audio) ablaturus esse gloriati sunt."

¹³ *Epistola*, A6r.: "Excidit quidnam aliquando Oecolampadius in fine disputationis cuiusdam diei diceret ad scribas in acta referre iuberet, ibi imperiose Eccius vetabat referri, Oecolampadius mansuetissime orabat referri. Certamen itaque cum inter ipsos esset, nullus praefectorum auscultationi erat, qui iuberet referri. Tandem scribae ipsi relaturus pronunciabant, hoc enim ex iureiurando debere."

manuscripts to bear witness" and thus fool the less educated participants, most of whom were unable to read.

Oecolampadius kept his dignity and answered humbly and calmly, but truth was derided and lies applauded.¹⁴ The closing paragraphs of Halieus' text contain some interesting remarks on the sums of money that the Roman Catholics and notably the diocese of Constance (via Fabri) invested in the Disputation.

It is obvious from what Halieus says that the proceedings were not organised fairly. However, it is equally interesting to note that the makes no remarks about the theological issues involved. All in all, Halieus confirms the impression one gets from reading the *Acts* themselves; although Oecolampadius had the cards stacked against him, there was nothing stopping him simply outarguing Eck, had he wished to do so. Halieus' insistence on his humility and calm suggests that the Basle theologian had some difficulty mustering his arguments.

And indeed, it is significant that Halieus appends to his pamphlet not some of his own notes from Baden but the Latin version of Zwingli's first *Reply* to Eck, which would have had a more convincing ring than anything said by Oecolampadius in Baden.

THE WARHAFFTIGE HANDLUNG

The second "protestant" report of the Disputation is the famous *Warhafftige Handlung*.¹⁵ Its main interest for us is that it reports rather more extensively on the theological discussions. The circumstances and the consequences of its publication have been described in some detail by E. Staehelin and more recently by J. Rott so that it is enough to simply summarise them here.

The unknown author had to leave the Disputation before the end so that his report covers the debates up until 30 May. The pamphlet consists of a description of the preparatory work leading up to the Disputation, the *Disputationsordnung* which the author considers (like Halieus) to be heavily weighted in favour of the Catholic disputants, Eck's seven theses (in German), two theses by Murner (in Latin), and the personal report on the proceedings.¹⁶ The entire pamphlet is fifty-four octavo pages long.

It is generally assumed that the *Handlung* was printed in Strasbourg by Wolfgang Köpfel in the very first days of June 1526. It was known and was being vigorously refuted in Basle (by Ludwig Bär and others) as early as 10 June.¹⁷ Around that time Capito sent a messenger (Johann Buchli) to Zürich via Basle with copies of

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, A6r.-v.

¹⁵ Text partly in *Br Oek* I, no. 387, p. 521-528. See also E. Staehelin, *Zwei private Publikationen über die Badener Disputation und ihre Autoren* in: *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 37 (1918), 378-394.

¹⁶ The personal report is printed in *Br Oek* I no. 387.

¹⁷ Cf. Staehelin, *Zwei private Publikationen*, 382-384.

the pamphlet and letters from Capito to Zwingli¹⁸ and Pellikan and from Farel to Myconius. On his journey from Basle to Zürich Buchli was arrested in Aargau and the letters he was carrying fell into the hands of Fabri. Capito's messenger was interrogated in Baden and admitted that the publication of the *Handlung* was the work of Capito and Köpfel.

Fabri then published the German translation of Capito's letter to Zwingli with damaging interpolations under the title of *Neüwe Zeitung*, which was intended to discredit the Strasbourgers at the Diet of Spire. Capito reacted by publishing various pieces, notably an answer to the *Neüwe Zeitung* entitled *Der nüwen zeytung . . . bericht und erklerung* and the Latin *Epistola V. Fabritii Capitonis ad Hulderichum Zvinglium*.¹⁹ The violence of Fabri's reaction might lead us to suspect that the pamphlet contained more than just bare assertions and that it was in fact a fairly substantial report of the proceedings, made by an unauthorised visitor—the very thing Fabri wanted to avoid.

In fact, on reading the *Warhafftige Handlung* and on comparing it with the official *Acts* which did not appear until the following year, it is plain that it is the *Handlung's* reporting of the Catholic behaviour that embarrassed Fabri and not anything that the author of the pamphlet might have said about the *theology* of the discussions.

The anonymous author first of all stresses that Oecolampadius asked that certain rules he observed during the disputation. First, that the sole criterion of truth should be the word of God, all human doctrine to be used only in so far as it conformed to the Scripture.²⁰ Second, there should be no judge other than the Scripture.²¹ Third, the debates should be held in German. Fourth, they should be taken down as minutes, and fifth, that the theses be so arranged that the most important differences could be discussed first.²²

The *Acts* would suggest that all these demands were acceded to and indeed neither the author of the *Handlung* nor Halieus complain, either about the language of the Disputation, or about the order in which matters were disputed.

In its report of discussions of the first thesis the *Handlung* bears out the impression given by the *Acts* that it was not the Scripture that provided the final court of appeal. The author thus reports:

Eck said: "your teaching on the sacrament is heretical." Oecolampadius answered: "if you say that, you make all the holy doctors of the Church into

¹⁸ See Z 8.494.

¹⁹ Text in B Cor II, annexe III, 248–266.

²⁰ Br Oek I no. 387, p.522: "Zum ersten, das die disputation mitt dem wort Gottes soll gehalten werden, und vermitteln alte breuch, doctores etc. und aller menschenler, sy seyen dann dem wort Gots gemesz."

²¹ *Ibid.* "Zum andren wöll oder mög er kein andren richter haben, weder die dasselbig wort Gottes haben unnd demnach richten."

²² *Ibid.*, p. 523.

heretics." And so they came to argue about whether the early Churchmen saw the truth about the eucharist or not. Tertullian was first brought forward as witness; but Eck rejected him as an heretic. Naturally this venerable and pious man must be a heretic to these people.²³

What the author of the *Handlung* does *not* say is that Oecolampadius made a gallant attempt to dispute from the Scripture; nor does he suggest that the reformer's arguments were in any way impressive. He does say further on that Oecolampadius at one point challenged Eck to prove transsubstantiation from the Scripture, which indeed he did, but again there is no indication that Oecolampadius even attempted to disprove transsubstantiation from the Scripture.

It is certainly not any allusion to Eck's theology or to his ability to dispute that would have embarrassed Fabri. However, the author of the *Handlung* does reveal that on 21 May Ludwig Bär visited Oecolampadius and asked him to declare himself defeated on the eucharist;²⁴ an arrangement could be found for the other articles. Given the amount of money spent on the Disputation and Oecolampadius' extremely unimpressive performance, it is not surprising that Bär would have tried to shorten the proceedings in this way. But, and this is also natural, the author of the *Handlung* turns Bär's attempt at diplomacy into a sign of weakness and opportunism. "To these people disagreeing about faith is like disagreeing about a piece of land. They like to make arrangements and believe whatever is decided in parliament. But when God wills, they must—although they don't want to—give up their Parisian games and turn to the Scripture."²⁵

Although it shows the moral intentions of the Roman Catholic side to be extremely dubious, the *Handlung* by what it does not say, confirms that Oecolampadius had the possibility of outarguing Eck and of imposing his own theological disputation methods. That he did not do so is plain. Eck was simply the abler disputant of the two.

THE PUBLICATION OF THE ACTS

The curious circumstances surrounding the publication or rather the delay in the publication of the *Acts* have been described by von Muralt in great detail and need not be gone into here.²⁶ Suffice it to remind the reader that the *Acts* (ostensibly

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 525: "Auff dz wz Ecken handel also: 'Ewer meynung vom sacrament ist ketzerisch.' Antwort Oecolampadius: 'Wenn ir das sagen, so machen ir vil der alten heyligen lerer zu ketzern.' Unnd in solcher red ists uff den handel komen, ob die alten disse warheit gesehen haben oder nitt. Tertullianus ward am ersten als ein zeüg fürgezogen; den verwarff stracks der Eck als ein ketzer. Dann disser heylger fromer man musz disen leüten ein ketzer sein." Cf. *Disputation*, G3r-v.

²⁴ Br Oek I, no. 387, p. 527.

²⁵ *Ibid.* "Dann disen leüten ist es eben um glauben, als wann man umb ein acker uneynsz wurt. Sye mögen rachtung leyden und glauben, wie es meine herren uff den tügen beschliessen. Aber will Gott, so müssen sy sich ob schon mit unwillen, von Pariser bosssen auf die geschrift lencken."

²⁶ Cf. von Muralt, 123–137.

because of disagreements over the status of Hans Huber's copy) took a year to appear²⁷ that they did not meet with the approval of Berne or Basle, that they contained a condemnation of Zwingli by Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwald, Glaris, Fribourg, Solothurn, and Appenzell as well as a letter from Erasmus dated 15 May 1526 (Allen 1708), condemning the reformers' teaching on the eucharist. Did Huber falsify the *Acts* in any way? Naturally no reliable answer to this question can be given until such time as a critical edition is available. However, so far there seems to be no reason to doubt Füssli's judgement. He examined the four Zürich manuscripts in 1741 and concluded that they did not differ from the 1527 printed version.²⁸ It is after all extremely unlikely, even after a longish period of time that Oecolampadius could have read with equanimity a completely fictitious account of what he had said. Furthermore, as we have shown, neither the author of the *Warhafftige Handlung* nor Halieus ever imply that Oecolampadius made short work of Eck's arguments.

Why then was the publication of the *Acts* not seen by the Roman Catholic side as final confirmation of their victory? The obvious answer is the one most frequently given. Although Zwingli and Zürich became in a sense isolated from the rest of the Confederation, they were not completely isolated, given the wavering attitude of Basle and Berne.

But what has not been remarked upon so far is that theologically the Disputation opened a gap—what was to be the ultimate court of appeal? The Scripture? And who was to judge the Scripture given that no judges in any strict sense were appointed at the Disputation? It is quite likely that the publication of the *Acts* was delayed because of this lack of certainty over who or what was to be the ultimate criterion of truth.

This lack of certainty transpires very clearly in Murner's *Ein vuorhafftiges verantwurtten*²⁹ published on 30 June 1526. Eager as he is to finalise Zwingli's status as heretic and criminal, Murner nonetheless expresses some concern about *how* this is to be done:

If we try to do this [condemn Zwingli and his party] with the holy canon law, you say it was drawn up by the pope and his dignitaries. If we have recourse to imperial law, the source of the law of every land and country, you say the emperor is a man like any other . . . If we quote the Councils, you say they contradict one another and are therefore without authority. If we quote the *Epistle of St. James*, you say it is apocryphal. If we quote the *Machabees*, you say they are not part of the Bible. If we quote the Church Fathers, you say that that is human invention . . . If we refer to miracles, you say they are the work of the devil. If we cite the prophets, you say they are obscure. If we try to condemn you with the word of God, you will not have

²⁷ 23 May 1527. Cf. von Muralt, 133.

²⁸ Cf. von Muralt, 91 ff.

²⁹ *Corpus Catholicorum* 22.8–38.

judges to decide whether it is we or you who abide by God's word, whether it is we or you who understand it correctly. If we cite the Gospels, you twist the words round whichever way suits you . . ."³⁰

There follow accusations of robbery, murder, despoiling of graves as well as the forty *ehrlös* propositions which had already appeared in Latin in the *Responsio* and which were to reappear in Latin in the *Causa helvetica*, together with a summary of Fabri's *Christenliche Beweisung*. Naturally the paragraph cited is intended primarily as an insult; Murner wants to show that Zwingli is a heretic because he refuses to bow to any acknowledged authority including the Holy Scripture. Yet unwittingly, Murner's accusations point to a crisis of confidence, which will pave the way to the Disputation of Berne, and an establishment of new criteria of authority.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 16: "Wil man das thün, mit den heiligen geistlichen rechten so sagt ir es habs der Babst gemacht, und die spietz hiet. Wil mans thun mit dem keiserlichen rechten uss welchem alle stat und landt recht fliessen, so sagt ir der keiser sey ein man alss ein ander man . . . Wil mans thün mit den Concilien, so sagt ir sy sient wider ein ander, und dorum krafftloss. Wil mans thun mit sant Jacobs epistelen, sagt ir er hab den selben brieff nit geschribben. Wil mans dan thün mit denen Machabeischen biecheren, sagt ir es sient nit bieblische biecher. Wil mans thün mit den heiligen lerren, sagt ir sy sient menschen gsin . . . Wil mans thun mit wunder zeichen so sagt ir der teuffel hab sy gethon. Wil mans thun mit den propheten sagt ir es sient dunckele reden. Wil mans thun mit dem gots wort, so willent ir kein richter han der erkenne ob das gots wort by uch sey oder by unss, von uch recht verstanden werde oder von uns. Wil mans thun mit den Evangelien, so biegt ir und ziehent der wörter synn wahin ir wellent . . ."

VI

The Berne Disputation¹

6–26 January 1528

THE THREE NEW THESES

To the five main subjects of the Baden Disputation—real presence, sacrifice of the mass, the saints, images, and purgatory—five more were added. Of those, three were to do with the Church and its role on earth, and two were to do with marriage. The latter two came at the very end of the discussions and were hardly disputed at all. The three theses concerning the Church were phrased as follows. (1) “The Holy Christian Church whose sole head is Christ, is born of the Word of God, remains in it, and does not listen to the voice of a stranger. (2) The Church of Christ does not constitute laws and commands without the Word of God. Therefore all human precepts, called Church laws, only bind us in so far as they are founded in God’s Word. (3) Christ is our sole wisdom, righteousness, salvation and satisfaction for all the sins of the world. Therefore to confess that blessedness is obtained by any other merit and to admit any other satisfaction for our sins is to deny Christ.”²

Of the two authors of the Berne theses Franz Kolb and Berchtold Haller, only one, Haller, had attended the Baden Disputation where he had attacked the sacrifice of the mass, thus going against the official interests of the city he was representing. There is no doubt, however, that the lesson of Baden did not go un-

¹ I shall be referring here to the 1608 edition of the *Handlung oder Acta behaltner Disputation zu Bern in Uchtland*, Bern, Johann le Preux. The first edition of the *Handlung* dates from March 1528, the second from April 1528. Both those were printed in Zürich by Christopher Froschouer.

² (1) *Hendricks*, 574: “Die heilig Christenlich kilch dren enig houpt Christus ist us dem worts Gots geboren, in selben blibt si, und hört nit die stimme eines frömden. (2) Die Kilch Christi machet nit gesatz und bott on Gots wort, deshalb aller menschen satzungen, so man nempt der kolchen por, uns nit witer bindent, dann si in gottlichen wort gegründet und botten sind. (3) Christus ist unser enige wysheit, gerechtigkeit, erlösung und bezahlung aller welt sünd; deshalb ein ander verdienst der saligkeit und gnugthun für die sünd bekennen, ist Christum verleugnen.”

heeded. The Bernese reformers were determined to redesign the Church and its relationship to the Scripture before tackling the five major theological issues of real presence, sacrifice of the mass, the saints, the purgatory, and images.

It is true that the first two theses were not exactly new, but simply a rephrasing of the Ilanz theses of January 1526.³ However, unlike the Ilanz theses they made absolutely clear, first, that the Church is dependent on the Scripture and not the other way round, and, second, that all real redemption and satisfaction comes from Christ and therefore makes all other forms of intercession not only unnecessary but damaging to Christ. Haller obviously had in mind Eck's "Christ's sacrifice does not preclude other forms of sacrifice" type of argument against which the reformers had turned out to be quite helpless at Baden. Indeed, the third thesis that deals with this point is an "original invention" by Haller and Kolb and not an adaptation of any of the Ilanz theses. As for the five theses that had been discussed in Baden (and at Ilanz), they were cited as Hendricks has shown,⁴ as a paraphrase of the Ilanz text, with the rider "ist der Geschrift widrig" figuring in each.

The discussion was oriented differently to Baden and, it cannot be stressed too often that the Zwinglian party were much better represented than the Roman Catholics. Confident in their superiority, they were this time quite happy to distance themselves from such Lutherans as were present (Althamer, etc.) so much so that discussion of the fourth thesis involved only Zwinglians and Lutherans.

FLASHBACK TO THE METHODS OF THE ZÜRICH DISPUTATIONS OF 1523

As has been rightly pointed out by Berndt Moeller and others, the distinguishing feature of all the public debates instigated by the reformers was their use of Scripture as the final arbiter of truth. This was notably the case during the Zürich Disputations where the reformers showed that, unlike their opponents, they could construct a logical argument by having recourse only to Scriptural passages.

Typical of this is the argument between Jud and Lüthy in the second Zürich Disputation⁵ with the latter citing first of all Exodus 32:1 to show that God forbids only the images of idols, and then (after being challenged by Jud) Numbers 21:8 (brass snake), and Exodus 25:18, (cherubs) to show that God has occasionally authorised images. Jud in his reply to Lüthy shows himself capable of integrating Old and New Testament passages into his argument, in a way in which his opponent cannot. Thus, Jud first of all demonstrates that God has always ordained exceptions to his own laws, one of the examples being his order to Abraham to kill

³ Cf. *Hendricks*, 574.

⁴ *Hendricks*, 574-575.

⁵ Z 2.694 ff.

Isaac. Second, God's injunction in Numbers 21:8 applies to Old Testament times only; several passages in the Gospel of John and elsewhere show clearly that the Incarnation removes all need for images. As for the cherubs in Exodus 25:18, they are not images but a decoration. God's commandment is quite clear: we are not to make images of anything in heaven, on earth, etc. Christ and the saints being in heaven, we are not allowed to make images of them.

Jud has answered all of his opponent's points and has constructed a theological argument (God makes exceptions to his laws but it is he who dictates them) with the aid of Scriptural passages only. Lüthy in his answer tries to make a distinction between Christ in his divine (inaccessible) and Christ in his human nature. The latter, he tries to show, can be worshipped. Unfortunately, all the Biblical passages cited by Lüthy are to do with the invisibility of God and not with his main point. To counter, Jud needs do no more than to repeat Exodus 20:4 in a syllogistic form. Exodus 20:4 forbids the worshipping of images of things on earth, in heaven, etc. Christ is in heaven, therefore, etc.

At this point Lüthy abandons all pretence to arguing from the Bible and puts forward the following syllogism: "All that the pope ordains is just and infallible. Pope Gregory has said that pictures are laymen's books.⁶ Therefore, it is justified to have images."

Jud denies the soundness of the major premise. In his attempt to prove it Biblically Lüthy somewhat hastily argues for apostolic succession on the basis of Matthew 16:18 and John 20:23. This Jud has no difficulty disproving, as neither of the Biblical passages mentions apostolic succession *explicitly*.

This exchange between Jud and Lüthy illustrates all the strengths of the new approach to theological argument. First, both Old and New Testament passages are integrated into fairly sophisticated theological points so that the only way to challenge the theology is to challenge the exegesis directly without the rider "such and such a Church Father has interpreted this passage in such and such a way, therefore . . ." Second, all reference to tradition encounters the firm request to prove it Biblically. It is interesting to note that the basic structure of the arguments does not change. Although the *content* is largely Biblical, the *form* is still syllogistic.

However, it is by now a well-known fact that the reformers did not reject the tradition of the Early Church, which in their eyes was to be sharply distinguished from the corruptions of mediaeval ecclesiastical structures. Moreover, if one examines the theological points made by Jud, there is nothing revolutionary about them. His statement about the brass serpent in Numbers 21:8 being a foreshadowing of the crucifixion, for instance, finds a more than adequate support in mediaeval Biblical exegesis.⁷

Thus, although overt appeal to tradition was not to be tolerated in Reformation

⁶ *Ep.* 11, CCL 140 A, 873. Cf. also *Feld*, 12 ff.

⁷ On this see *Glossa ord.* [marg.] ad loc.

disputations, tradition itself did not disappear and it is not for nothing that Zwingli preached his main sermon during the Berne Disputation on that most tradition imbued of all Christian documents, the Apostles' Creed.

Given those presuppositions, the question that we must address ourselves to is: what was it about this method of argument that defeated the (admittedly not very strong) Roman Catholic party at the Berne Disputation?

A brief discussion of the first three theses should give the reader some idea of the methodological stage setting.

DISCUSSION OF THE FIRST THREE THESES AT BERNE

In his opening of the discussion in the first thesis Haller specifies that the common people often do not understand what the name of the Church implies. *'Ekklesia* means literally a *Versammlung*, he specifies, a gathering of the good and the bad, born of the Word of God with Christ as its only Head. The Church, continues Haller, is not a congregation of bishops, cardinals, and so on.

The discussion initiated by Alexius Grat⁸ on the Roman Catholic side turns on the question of who is the head of the Church on earth, Christ or Peter and his successors.

The usual Biblical passages are cited by the two sides in defence of their respective positions. Grat's citing of John 1:42 to prove that Peter is to be called Cephas, that is, Head, is quickly countered by Haller who points out that Cephas is Aramaic, and has nothing to do with the Greek *Kephale*.⁹

Linguistic argument thus removed, the discussion turns to the question of Peter's power. Is it external only, dependent on the Holy Spirit given by Christ? Is Peter in fact a servant (like any other minister) rather than a head? All the standard passages, Matthew 18:18 ff., Matthew 16:19, John 20:23, Luke 22:31, and so on, cited by Grat in support of Peter's unique power as conferred upon him by Christ, are effortlessly reinterpreted by Haller and Bucer. It is true that Christ prays for Peter (Luke 22:31), that his faith may not cease, but this does not mean that Peter is a head of the Church. On the contrary, it is Peter's *Dienstbarkeit* which is thus emphasised.¹⁰ Yes, Christ asked Peter to "feed his sheep" [John 21:15] but that too emphasises Peter's status as a servant. If it were the head of the Church that looked after the sheep, then all the servants of the Word of God could be heads of the Church! Bucer and Haller both are very well aware of the exegetical

⁸ On Alexius Grat cf. Z 6.2, p. 249 n. 2.

⁹ The etymology is that of Sebastian Münster's *Dictionarium hebraicum* of 1523, 194–195. See further Bucer, *In Ioh.* ad. 1, 42, ed. Backus, 100–101.

¹⁰ On Bucer's concept of Peter's primacy see Pierre Fraenkel, *Zwischen Altkatholizismus und Caesaropapismus. Zu Martin Bucers Materialsammlung über die Rolle des Papsttums in der Alten Kirche* in: *Reformatio Ecclesiae. Beiträge zu kirchlichen Reformbemühungen von der Alten Kirche bis zur Neuzeit. Festgabe für Erwin Iserloh*, hgb. Remigius Bäumer, Paderborn, 1980, 597–614.

tradition behind the Biblical verses. Their interpretation, in fact, is not so different from Jerome's exegesis of Matthew 16:19, explicitly mentioned by Bucer (together with Origen and Cyprian's doctrine of the equality of bishops) in his 1527 *Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels*.¹¹

As for the "power of binding and loosing" in John 20:23 and Matthew 16:19, all apostles and all God's servants have the same power of binding and loosing which comes to no more than the teaching of the Word of God. This is the highest power promised to Peter and, as is shown by John 20:23 to all the apostles.

Grat now has to prove from the Bible that Peter is the one head of the Church with unique power. Interestingly, although, as we saw, Eck in Baden was able to prove the existence of purgatory by referring only to the Bible, Grat does not have Eck's command over the Scripture and cannot make the requisite passages fit his own theology. The discussion starts going round in circles so much so that Bucer (39–40) asks Grat to cede his place to another disputant.

Theobald Huter,¹² who raises the question of excommunication fares no better and has no answer to Zwingli's interpretation of Matthew 18:18 whereby excommunication becomes a matter for the whole Church and only if warnings are of no avail. Excommunication, stresses Zwingli, must be governed by God's Spirit, otherwise it becomes simple tyranny.¹³ Naturally this doctrine of the relationship between the Church and the erring faithful is no invention of the reformers, containing as it does strong echoes of Augustine's *Contra epistolam Parmeniani*.¹⁴ By the rules of the Disputation, however, this is not to be referred to, and Grat for his part finds no Biblical proof of Peter's unique power.

On 9 January, Conrad Treger steps into the fray in what will turn out to be a continuation of his dispute with Bucer and Capito begun in Strasbourg in 1524.¹⁵ Treger's attempt here is interesting in that he sets out to prove from the Scripture that the Church is not subordinate to it. He cites first of all Matthew 18:17 "welcher die Kilch nit hört, der soll dir sin als ein Heid, unnd ein offnen Sünder," and then 1 Corinthians 2:15 which he paraphrases to read "den gerechten, richt niemants, er richt aber aller ding." According to Treger this means that one righteous man established as a judge can also judge the Scripture. Capito corrects the *righteous* to *spiritual* and points out that *spiritual* applies to any and all true Christians. Such a community is judged by no one.

Then why should it not judge the Scripture, asks Treger not unreasonably. He again reminds Capito of Jesus' words in Matthew 18:17 "welcher die Kilchen nit hört," which show that there must be one judge who is visible and external.

¹¹ See I. Backus, *Church, Communion and Community in Bucer's Commentary on the Gospel of John* in: Martin Bucer ed. David Wright (forthcoming from Cambridge University Press).

¹² Cf. DHBS 4.195.

¹³ Cf. Bucer, *In Ioh.*, ed. Backus, 483–484.

¹⁴ Cf. Bucer, *ibid.*

¹⁵ Cf. BDS 2.15–173.

In his reply Capito comes so close to Treger's position that it seems strange that a common standpoint cannot be worked out. Yes, Capito agrees that a Christian community is external in that it lives in the flesh. However, it judges only "durch den Geist Gottes." Moreover, where faith is concerned "it has no right to judge, but only to point to what is false or not, on the basis of the Scripture and according to the analogy of faith."¹⁶

Treger, one feels, would only need to say that the Church is subject to the Scripture for the debate to be over. But the question is not an *adiaphoron* to him. If we are not to judge the Scripture, then why do the reformers do it in that they consider some Biblical books, for example, the Epistle to the Romans and the Gospel of John, particularly spiritual while condemning others, such as the Epistle of James or Revelation although those have been revered by the Church for over a thousand years? Moreover, Treger insists that Matthew 18:17 should refer to the General Council and not to particular communities and that the matter to be judged is orthodoxy, which can only be decided by a General Council.

Bucer's answer to this dual objection is less than satisfactory. He comes dangerously close to a spiritualist position arguing that each individual believer has, through the Holy Spirit, the capacity to judge and recognise the Word of God for himself. This argument, we might note, is as un-Biblical as Bucer's answer to Treger's point about the reformers' judgement on certain Books of the Bible, where the Strasbourger simply resorts to tradition. All those endowed with the Spirit of God, he affirms, made the same judgement as the protestants. And in support of this statement he cites Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History* 3.26!¹⁷

Nor is Bucer above citing tradition to refute Treger's (not unfounded) accusations of divisions among the reformers. On the contrary, states the Strasburger, abandoning all pretence to arguing from the Bible, it is the Roman Church that foments real divisions. Among the more extreme examples of these divisions he mentions:

So we read in printed books that Saint Francis every year frees all Franciscans from purgatory, is this not a departure from the consensus of the faithful and from the true Christian faith?¹⁸

The divisions that arose were predicted in the tradition of the Church, specifies Bucer:

... [Error] first came about when the apostles themselves were still preaching, witness their Epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, Tertullian, Irenaeus,

¹⁶ *Handlung* (1608), 60–61: "Hat sy nit zeurtheilen sonder der Schrifft nach anzeigen was irrig syc oder nicht, unnd das nach der glichmasse dess gloubens."

¹⁷ *Handlung* (1608), 66.

¹⁸ *Handlung* (1608), 86: "So findt man in getruckten Büchern, das Sant Franciscus jährlich alle Barfüsser uss dem Fegfür nemme, sind das nit grosse vorthail und absünderung von gemeinen Gloubigen, und waren christenlichen Glouben?"

Eusebius and all the ancient doctors, but then as the writings of the Anti-christ took the upper hand through Mahomed in the East and the popish regiment in the West, it is no wonder the people were plunged in an eternity of error. . . .¹⁹

After more rhetoric Bucer states glibly that Treger's claim to do with the General Council as final arbiter of truth has no Scriptural support!

Treger without being given much chance to defend himself was then stopped by the officials on grounds of not arguing from the Scripture! However, the officials do admit that "wo aber Herr Provincial die Schlussreden zewider fechten willens wäre, sye jm erloubt gegen den Predicanten mit heiliger Geschrift redispütieren, und on wyter umschweiffen frygliche rehandlen."²⁰

At that point Konrad Schmid (1476–1531),²¹ one of the chairmen, intervened and asked that the private argument between Treger and the Strasbourgers be put an end to. The theses of the Disputation have been established and must be adhered to but Treger should not feel excluded "we fully allow the Provincial to carry on his discussion with the Bernese preachers, against the theses, so long as he argues from the Scripture according to the rules laid down by our gracious gentlemen from Berne."²²

Nicholas Brieffler, another chairman, and dean of St. Peter's, Basle, makes a further concession to Treger. Although his dispute with Bucer and Capito is not strictly to do with the thesis, Treger must stay and argue his position within the limits of the disputation. Moreover, he may use not only the passages of Scripture that expressly contradict the theses but also those from which a contradiction can be deduced.

Why did Treger feel disadvantaged by this decision so much so that he left the Disputation? Martin Bucer in the Preface to his *Commentary on the Gospel of John* repeats what is stated in the *Acts*. He and Capito asked Treger simply to argue with them using whatever arguments he could and they would only reply to Biblical arguments.²³ This naturally implies Treger felt he could not win the Disputation anyway.

The discussion of the first thesis after Treger's departure turns on the question of the *Dienstbarkeit* as against the *authority* of the ecclesiastical ministry. The chief

¹⁹ *Handlung* (1608), 87: "Also ist geschehen, als die Apostel noch selbs gepredigt haben, wie das bezügend jre Epistel, die Acta der Apostlen, Tertullianus, Irenzeus, Eusebius und alle alter lerer, da aber der Widerschrift by den Orientalischen durch den Machumet und by den Ocidentalischen durch das Bapstlich Regiment überhand genomment hat, ist kein wunder, dass es die Völcker in Ewigkeit der Irthumb erhalten hat . . ."

²⁰ *Handlung* (1608), 97.

²¹ Cf. DHBS 6.45.

²² *Handlung* (1608), 98–99: "aber mynem Herren Provincial erlauben wir fry, zereden und zedisputieren mit den predicanten von Bern, wider jr fürgenommen Artickel uss göttlichem Wort nach ordnung unnd ansehen myner gnediger Herren von Bern."

²³ *In Ioh.*, ed. Backus, 8–9.

protagonists are Haller and Theobald Huter. The problem of Peter as sole recipient of the keys is then raised again and argued out with the help of Matthew 16:19 and John 20:23 with only a few interesting new points being made. One of those is Zwingli's remark "der Hirt soll Gottes schaaf weiden, nit herschen, es spricht nit: weid *dine* Schaaf, sonder *mine*, die Schaaff und der Hirt sind Gottes." Both sides adhere to the precept of arguing from the Scripture, and it is interesting to note that the Roman Catholic position distinguishes itself less and less from that of the reformers. This time, however, unlike in the Baden Disputation, it is no gambit to outargue the reformed side!

Jacob Edlibach's²⁴ (1482–1546) final argument in favour of the authority of the Church is a very good instance of this! He calls the pope "not the head but an appointed head of the Church, to whom it is ordered to act as head, just as Peter is to act as head of the keys."²⁵ So it is quite clear, concludes Edlibach, that Peter is not the head of the Church in the same sense that Christ is, nor does it follow that if Peter is the head of the Church, then he must be our Saviour.

Edlibach has thus been argued into affirming that, as Bucer is quick to point out, Peter is the "Underhopt über die Kilchen," and has thus conceded the first thesis to the reformers.

This defeat sets the pattern for the remaining theses. The Roman Catholic delegation does not have sufficient knowledge of the Bible to muster all the relevant passages quickly, and, more importantly, it seems somewhat uncertain of the doctrine it is supposed to defend. The sole representative of Roman Catholic orthodoxy with a theology to put forward is Treger, who, as we saw, becomes trapped into a private conversation with Capito and Bucer.

Having thus proved that Peter is not the head of the Church but a mere servant of Christ and one of many at that, the reformers set out to prove in the second thesis that all Church laws and injunctions have to be founded in the Scripture. Those that are not so founded cannot be applicable to the faithful. It is Haller's colleague, Franz Kolb, who introduces the thesis. He begins by restating what was proved by the first thesis "was da sye die christenliche Gemeinde, dero das einig Hout sye Christus Jesus" and the agreement between this doctrine and the first article of the Apostles' Creed. As for the second thesis, Kolb specifies that it concerns only "dingen, die unser Seel sälligkeit anträffend" and does not aim to touch on anything to do with *civil* laws:

So every pious Christian can judge, from what Church or Congregation are those who want to be respected by the entire world and considered fathers of spirituality, masters and judges over God's Word; who have taken it upon themselves to threaten the people of God with eternal damnation

²⁴ Zwingli's opponent in the Zürich Disputations and canon of Zofingen. Cf. DHBS 2.743.

²⁵ *Handlung* (1608), 152–153. "nit ein Hout sonder ein fürgesetzt Hout der Kilchen, dem bevolchen ist das . . . fürnemlich zehandeln, wie Petro fürnemlich bevolchen sind die Schlüssel usw."

and to forbid them the things that are neither commanded nor forbidden by God.²⁶

In other words, the power of the Roman Catholic Church is not only excessive, it is ill founded. The discussion is interesting in that it shows very clearly how far the reformers are prepared to go in order to demarcate themselves from the Roman Church and from the Christian tradition—in fact, not very far.

When Johannes Buchstab²⁷ (1499–1528) suggests that three articles of the Apostles' Creed—(1) “Er ist abgestigen zu den Hellen,” (2) “Ich gloub in die heiligen Christenlichen Kilchen,” (3) “Ich gloub gemeinsame der Heiligen”—cannot be supported by the Scripture,²⁸ Bucer, who takes it upon himself to answer, does *not* argue anything along the lines. The Scripture is more reliable than the Apostles' Creed. No, his and the other reformers' belief in the authenticity of the text of the Creed is untouched.²⁹ So much so that the Strasbourg reformer attempts to find Scriptural support for the three articles which according to him are only two, the Church and the communion of saints being one article. Like Zwingli, Bucer makes no attempt to exploit the absence of the “communion of saints” from the older versions of the Creed. In support of the descent to hell he cites Acts 2:27 and 1 Peter 3:19.

As for the Church and the communion of saints, Bucer supports it by references to Matthew 16 and 19 and Ephesians 1,4 and 5. He then defines the Church and the communion of saints in the following terms: “the Christian Church is the community of Christians, that is the saints, given that Paul never distinguishes the one from the other. They have communion in one God, one Christ, one Spirit, etc.”³⁰ This typically Augustinian conception of the Church entails the view that it can err and formulate human laws which must be revoked once light has been granted.

Buchstab objects that it is the Church and not the Scripture that assumes the sole responsibility for the doctrine of double procession of the Holy Spirit, for Mary's virginity, and for ordaining that certain days, such as Sunday be celebrated as holy days. But Bucer and Zwingli (who joins in) are not to be caught out. They simply argue that the basis of the double procession [John 15:26] and Mary's vir-

²⁶ *Handlung* (1608), 158: “So kan unnd mag ein jetlicher frommer Christ ermessien, von welcher Kilch oder Versammlung die syen, die von aller Welt wellen geachtet und genempt sin Vätter in der Geistlichkeit, Meister und Richter über das göttlich Wort. Item, die sich angenommen haben, dem Volck Gottes mit trowung ewiger Verdammuss zugebieten und zuverbieten, die ding, die uns Gott weder gebotten noch verbotten hat.”

²⁷ Author of numerous pamphlets against Zwingli's doctrinal “innovations.” Cf. DHBS 2.33.

²⁸ *Handlung* (1608), 162.

²⁹ Cf. ASD 5:1.199. In the *Ratio* of 1519, Erasmus suggested that it was a fourth century document. See also *infra* chap. VII *Sermons during the Berne Disputation*.

³⁰ *Handlung* (1608), 163: “die Christenlich Kilch die gemeinen Christen sind, das ist heiligen, wie dann Paulus allenthalben Christen und heiligen für eins nimpt, die haben nun Gemeinschaft an einem Gott, einem Christo einem Geist usw.”

ginity [Matthew 1:18 ff.] is to be found in the Scripture. As for Sunday and other feast days, they are all summed up in the commandment "lieb Gott von gantzen Herten und din Nächsten als dich selbs." Bucer then grants Buchstab that several holy days have been ordained by the Church with no Biblical backing, but this was done not to honor God but to insult him.

The discussion then turns to the meaning of John 16:13 which the reformers interpret (like Thomas Aquinas) in the sense of improved awareness of certain details of Christian doctrine, details which have a basis in the Scripture. Grat and other Roman Catholics interpret it to mean ceremonies, and the like that are not found in the Scripture.

As Grat continues to be dissatisfied with the reformers' answers to his objections, Bucer sets out to prove by a syllogism constructed out of Paul's words, that ordinances to do with fasting and feast days cannot be the work of the true Christian Church:

Those who forbid marriage and food [*Col.* 2:16] have departed from faith. The Councils and prelates that you consider as the Christian Church have forbidden food and marriage. Therefore they have departed from faith and are not the Christian Church.³¹

Gradually in the course of the debate on thesis two it emerges that the reformers' aim is not to abolish Christian tradition but simply to shift the emphasis away from the institutions of the Church. In refusing to argue from any source other than the Scripture, they do not deny the truth of patristic or mediaeval testimony, they simply want to show that too much attention has been paid to it at the expense of the Scripture. The latter, it must be noted, is used by the reformers in neither a neutral nor in any particularly innovative way. The interpretation of the passages they cite is (implicitly) steeped in tradition, so much so that their exegesis of John 16:13 is more "mediaeval" or just as "mediaeval" as that of the Roman Catholics.³² Moreover, it is interesting to note that the traditional tools of argument, the syllogism, etc., are still very much in use.

The third thesis is particularly important here as it serves a double purpose, ethical and methodological. Ethically it defines the attitude a good Christian should adopt to his good works. Methodologically, it invalidates the "if God or Scripture why not *also* an intermediary" type of argument, used by Eck so very successfully in Baden.

It is Haller who introduces the discussion. His description of the relationship

³¹ *Handlung* (1608), 190: "Welch di Ee und Spysß verbieten [*Col.* 2.16] sind vom glauben abgetreten und bringend Tüffels leer. Die Concilia und Prelaten, so jr für Christlich Kilch zellen habend, Spysß und Ee verboten. Darumb sy vom glauben abgetreten unnd kein Christlich Kilch gewäsen."

³² Cf. Bucer, *In Ioh.* ad loc., ed. Backus, 461-462.

between a Christian and his good works is no more than a paraphrase of Augustine's view of human merit in his later works. Here are Haller's exact words:

A father promises his child a jacket as a reward, if the child does well at school. The child owes obedience to the father and thus far *merits* or *earns* the jacket, yet the reward is called thus not because it is earned or merited, but because it is promised and given through the father's grace. Let no one be mistaken about the nature of the reward for our works, which are not ours, but promised by God.³³

This point is made even more clearly and overtly by Bucer in his reply to Buchstab's objections that our works can and must, as is shown by Matthew 7:21 and Acts 9:36 ff., be "verdienstlich."

Bucer grants that Cornelius' alms and prayers were accepted by God but he insists this does not mean that Cornelius *earned* grace by his good works. Certainly, pursues the Strasbourger, a Christian must, as a result of his faith and love of his neighbour, perform good works constantly, but those works are powerless to earn him any grace. And here Bucer makes an overt appeal to patristic tradition as he affirms:

As all the good works are not ours but it is the Spirit of God that works in us, so it turns out that, as Saint Augustine says rightly, God rewards his own good works in us.³⁴

Buchstab's various attempts to show *from the Bible* that in some cases God has rewarded human good works, are countered by Bucer on philological grounds. Particularly interesting here are their respective interpretations of Exodus 1:20. Buchstab takes it to mean "Gott hat angesehen den Verdienst der hebreischen Hebammen, die die Kinder nach dem Gebott Pharaonis nit wolten umbringen." Bucer on the other hand, argues from the Hebrew that God did not reward the midwives particularly but simply caused the children of Israel ("*lahem* = ad ipsos" and not as Buchstab's interpretation would lead us to believe, "*lahen* = ad ipsas") to multiply, in his grace.³⁵

Buchstab's rather able contention from John 6:29 (Jesus' answer to the disciples "das ist das Werck Gottes, das jr in den gloubind . . .") that faith too is a work is again rebutted on philological grounds. "Werck Gottes" according to Bucer

³³ *Handlung* (1608), 205: "Ein Vatter verheisst sinem Kind ein Röcklin zu lon, so verr es in der Schul redlich leere. Nun ist das Kind nüt destminder schuldig dem Vatter zu Gehorsamen unnd verdienet das Kleidli, noch nemmt mans ein lon, nit dass er verdienet sye sunder uss Gnaden des Vatters verheissen und geben. Hiemit lass sich niemand irren, wo er find den Lon unser Wercke, die doch nit unser, sunder Gottes Verheissung sind."

³⁴ *Handlung*, 208: "Zu den, so sind alle gute Werck nit unser, sonder dess Geist Gottes in uns würend, darum find es sich, wie Sant Augustin recht geschriben hat, das Got syn eigne Werck in uns belonet" [*De gratia et lib. arb.* 6, MPL 44.891].

³⁵ *Handlung*, 209–210.

should be considered as a figure of speech—*mimesis* or *imitatio*—to be interpreted as “das Werck, das by Gott gelten wurde”³⁶ as if Jesus were saying “you ask what you should *do* to please God. You should believe in me; that would be an act pleasing to Him.” Jesus does not mean to say literally that faith is a work. This exegesis, Augustinian in origin, is expounded in greater detail by Bucer in his *Commentary on the Gospel of John*.³⁷

Theobald Huter, who takes over from Buchstab, appears equally unable to break the Augustinian tenor of the assembly and to argue for the “Verdienstlichkeit,” in however limited a sense, of human works. The discussion comes to an end with Haller citing Ephesians 2:4 ff. which, he finds, elucidates the question of good works perfectly.

A breakthrough has been achieved, and, as we have seen, the Zwinglian party now feel confident enough to situate themselves within the Augustinian tradition, not just implicitly, by putting a particular Augustinian interpretation upon the Biblical passages cited, but quite explicitly. This new confidence makes them unhesitatingly take on the Lutherans in the discussions of the fourth thesis on real presence.

THESIS FOUR CONCERNING THE REAL PRESENCE

Lindt³⁸ and other historians of the Berne disputation have tended to view the discussion of the fourth thesis as a separate event, a distraction from the main business of the Disputation. However, if one bears in mind that Eck and his party secured their victory at Baden by adopting for the occasion, Luther’s doctrine of real presence, thesis four at the Berne Disputation not only ceases to appear aberrant, it becomes the logical sequel to the Baden discussions. By taking on the Lutherans, Haller and his friends are perfectly justified in considering that they are also attacking the Roman Catholic doctrine of real presence.

The discussion that develops hangs mainly on the question of interpretation of John 6.³⁹ Although, as I have shown, neither the Zwinglian nor the Lutheran Biblical exegesis is tradition-free, there is no longer any question of overtly referring to or supporting such and such a Church Father’s interpretation of such and such a Biblical passage, as Oecolampadius did in Baden. Nor is there any ontological discussion of what does *hoc* refer to in *hoc est corpus meum* and of whether Christ’s body can be in several places at once.

In his introduction to the fourth thesis Kolb sets the tone by interpreting John

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 211.

³⁷ Ed. Backus, 236.

³⁸ K. Lindt, *Der theologische Gehalt der Berner Disputation* in: *Berner Reformationsfeier 1928*, Berne, 1928, 334–339.

³⁹ On the theological complexities of that chapter see the notes in: Bucer, *In Ioh.*, ed. Backus, 224–286.

6:64 “das Fleisch ist gar nut nütz” in the *implicitly* Augustinian sense of symbolic presence, as did Zwingli before him. He also shows by precise Biblical references that Christ went up to heaven and that his body is to be found on God’s right hand and nowhere else.

Arguing for real presence, Burgauer cites John 6:52 following the Erasmian reading with *dóso* twice.⁴⁰ This, argues Burgauer, was the Lord’s promise, and this shows that what is impossible to us is possible to God.

Zwingli (basing his exegesis of the passage on that of Cyril of Alexandria) argues first that the *bread* in John 6:52 is merely spiritual food, reassurance, and consolation that we shall obtain through Christ’s death. Second, Zwingli argues that God is almighty but that does not mean that everything God can, is.

Burgauer insists on the double giving: the first *dóso* refers to the promise of the eating of the flesh and the second to God’s omnipotence. “Firstly he promises that his flesh will be physically eaten. Secondly, he confesses omnipotence.”⁴¹ Zwingli disagrees: *dóso* is a simple repetition. Christ means that the spiritual food (or consolation) that he will give us, is his own body which will be sacrificed for the sins of the world.

The discussion between Zwingli and Burgauer continues on 15 January. Indeed, we can see that once the discussion has shifted from the question of *hoc est corpus meum*, things become more difficult for the advocates of any form of real presence. John 6:52 is a particularly “slippery” passage as Chrysostom interprets it in the same way as Zwingli and the reformers. Burgauer has only mediaeval tradition (notably Aquinas) to fall back on.⁴²

Various points are made then, but Burgauer persists in maintaining that Christ’s words in John 6 serve to understand the words of the Institution in Luke 22:19. Oecolampadius then intervenes with exactly the same argument that he had used unsuccessfully in Baden: Augustine’s distinction between the signifier and the signified. However, couched in a properly Zwinglian framework and put forward without any overt reference to Augustine, the argument that failed in Baden succeeds here:

In every sacrament there are two things understood: that which signifies and that which is signified. When one pays attention to the type of sacrament, we cannot conclude from the words given, that we should interpret that the bread is substantially the body of Christ.⁴³

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 254.

⁴¹ *Handlung*, 228: “dann er ye lut dess ersten sin fleisch lyblich geessen verheisst. Zum anderen bekent er die Allmächtigkeit.”

⁴² Cf. Bucer, *In Ioh.*, ed. Backus, 253–256.

⁴³ *Handlung*, 251–252: “Also dass by jedem Sacrament zwey ding begriffen werdent, etwas das da bedüet, und etwas das da bedüet wird . . . Wo man nun acht wirt nemmen, die art der Sacrament, so wirt es sich nit schliessen hie, uss denen fügenommen worten, dass man muss usslegen, das Brot ist wesentlich der Lyb Christi.”

Moreover, adds Oecolampadius, the obscure passage in Luke should be elucidated by the clearer, parallel passage in Matthew 26:26 ff.

As well as the change in relative importance of Scripture and tradition, it is interesting to note another major change in the eucharist discussion since 1526: the question of transsubstantiation (or for that matter, consubstantiation) is not raised.

The problem this time is formulated by Oecolampadius in terms of "how should we interpret the verb *est* in *hoc est corpus meum*?" Paul says in Romans that all Biblical exegesis must be *secundum analogiam fidei*. Yet it is contrary to Christian faith to believe that the sacramental bread is Christ's body because it is an article of faith that Christ took on human nature. If his flesh is then to become substantially bread, it means that Christ and therefore, God, took on bread as part of his nature which is completely unchristian. Any figure of speech to do with Christ's presence in the bread that Burgauer would like to use, must not contradict the article of faith "er ist uffgefahren zum Himlen und ist zukünftig zu richten über die Lebendigen und Todten."⁴⁴

Burgauer appeals to God's omnipotence: Christ having the two natures can do things which appear unnatural. Moreover, Burgauer assures Oecolampadius that he does not think that bread turns into divine substance: Christ's body and blood are given out to us *under* the elements "uss Göttlicher Krafft lut der worten" (as result of the divine power in the word).

At Oecolampadius' request Burgauer then attempts to back up this figure of speech by referring to 1 Corinthians 10:16 "Und das Brot, welches wir brechen ist das nit die *ustheilung* des lybs Christi."

The resulting discussion on the meaning of *koinonía* bears very small resemblance to the Baden debates. Whereas in 1526 Imeli argued that *Gemeinschaft* (i.e., the bread) was the body, here Althamer defends the *ustheilung* translation of *koinonía* by reference to Romans 15:26 and 2 Corinthians 8:4. It is this understanding of *koinonía* that enables the Lutherans to argue that the words *hoc est corpus meum* constitute a synechdoche.

Oecolampadius' explanation of *koinonía* shows how much his theology and indeed his methods have evolved since Baden. He argues that one can have two types of "Gemeinschaft" in something: by sharing in that which is smaller than us (*gemeinschaft*) and by sharing in something greater than us (*ustheilung*), "we can have communion in receiving grace and in the dispensing of it."⁴⁵

We participate in Christ's body only in the sense that we share in him and his merits; there is no way in which we can give out his body to others. Oecolampadius refers here to Romans 15:26 and 2 Corinthians 8:4 and demonstrates that *koinonía* is also used there in the sense of *sharing in*.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ *Handlung*, 258–259.

⁴⁵ *Handlung*, 275: "Also mögen wir haben Gemeinschaft im ynnemen der gnaden, so mögen wir auch haben Gemeinschaft im Usgeben."

⁴⁶ See also Bucer, *In Ioh.*, ed. Backus, 271–272.

It is interesting to note that although the doctrinal problems have not undergone a fundamental change since Baden, the approach to the problems has evolved considerably. Ontology and logic have largely given way to discussion on meanings of words and questions to do with rhetoric. Authorities are not referred to at all, at least explicitly, in this part of the discussion. Although, as we saw, the basis for the debate on the fourth thesis consists in a number of theological assumptions taken from tradition, those assumptions are developed by recourse to philology. And it is worth noting that the Zwinglian party in Berne shows itself to be more humanist and a subtler manipulator of textual evidence than their Lutheran opponents.

THESIS FIVE CONCERNING THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS

We noted that the Protestant defeat on this point in Baden was due partly to Eck's willingness to adopt the Scripture as the basis of his argument and to underplay the difference between his own and Zwingli's position by placing emphasis on the eucharist (or the mass) as a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice—view held by early Zwingli but not by Luther. It has also been noted that Eck during the actual discussions did not hesitate to hide behind the Church as ultimate court of appeal every time he felt himself challenged on Biblical evidence.

At the Berne Disputation it is Haller who introduces the discussion of the thesis on the sacrifice of the mass. Some of the points he makes are identical to those he raised in Baden. Thus taking 1 John 4:15 as point of departure, he argues that Christ's is the sole sacrifice and that we do not need to repeat it. He further makes the by now familiar point that he who sacrifices should be worthier than that which he sacrifices, which would make the priests with their sacrifice of the mass into something better than Christ. As in Baden so here, he then refers to Hebrews 7 and 9 to show that Christ's sacrifice is supreme. However, instead of linking (as he did in 1526) the eucharist with the crucifixion and not the last supper, he now links it with both. This provides him with the further argument that Christ's words in the Institution show that he himself did not sacrifice anything at the last supper, nor did he bid us to sacrifice anything. Haller thus makes up for Oecolampadius' concession to Eck in Baden. There, by insisting that the last supper itself was more than a mere commemoration, the Basle reformer found himself implicitly defending its sacrificial character.

The rest of Haller's introduction is taken up with a criticism of the more material aspects of the mass. He points out, notably, that money spent on vestments and utensils is contrary to faith, that the mass being in Latin stops the community being instructed properly, and that the elements are worshipped as if they were God.

Buchstab's mention of Melchizedek as prototype of Christ is met with a firm

request from Haller that the Roman Church should bring forward a Biblical proof that Melchizedek did indeed sacrifice in Genesis 14:18.

Gilg Murer's⁴⁷ answer is based on the text of the Vulgate, which gives Zwingli an opportunity to juggle on the *enim* in Genesis 14:18, which occurs only in the Vulgate, so as to show that Melchizedek simply prefigures the sacrifice of Christ on the cross and not any sacrifice of the priest. Zwingli insists here that parallels between Old and New Testament should not be established too closely, a point of exegetical theory drawn from Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, which Bucer will develop in his *Commentary on the Gospel of John*.⁴⁸

The other Biblical passage cited by the Roman Catholics is Proverbs 9:2 "die Weisheit hat uffgeopffret ire Opffer und hat vermischet den Wyn." No sacrifice other than the mass involves the mixing of wine, says Murer; therefore the mass must be a sacrifice.

Zwingli again simply refers Murer to the text and points out that it reads "die Weisheit uffgeopffret ire Opffer" and not "die Weisheit hat *Wyn und Brot uffgeopffret*." Murer, obviously familiar with Eck's *De sacrificio missae* (CC 36.85) and probably also the *Enchiridion* (CC 34.202), cites Cyprian's *Ep.* 63.4.5 (CSEL 3.704) which had also been cited by Augustine in *De doctrina christiana* 4.21 (CCL 32.152) in support of his interpretation of Proverbs 9:2. However, Zwingli confines himself to stating without any elaboration that Murer has misunderstood Cyprian.

It seems fairly improbable that Murer would have been content with a reply as curt as this. However, if the *Acts* are anything to go by, he does not reply to Zwingli and it is Buchstab who picks up the argument and attempts to demonstrate by Biblical references that the mass is a good work and that we are to pray for one another.

This time it is Bucer who dismisses casually his opponent's rather careful argument. Yes, we should pray for one another, but this does not mean that the mass is a good work. Moreover, Roman Catholic additions to the basic eucharist service are evil.

Either the report of the debate in the *Acts* is dishonest or, more probably, the level of discussion here is extremely low. In fact, when we consider that Christ's *unique* function as Mediator has already been proved in the first theses, the Roman Catholics no longer have a leg to stand on, however well they argue and however carefully they choose their Biblical examples.

The final stages of the discussion are desultory to say the least. The protestant debating techniques as such are neither startling nor distinguished. Bucer and Zwingli, in fact, do little more than repeat in various ways that Christ's sacrifice is the only valid sacrifice, all else being mere superstition.

⁴⁷ Cf. DHBS 5.59.

⁴⁸ Ed. Backus, 185.

It is plain that once it has been established that Christ is the sole Mediator, the issue of the sacrifice of the mass automatically swings in favour of the reformers. As we have seen, their theology of the eucharist undergoes some slight change since Baden in that the supper becomes a commemoration of the last supper as well as of the crucifixion, which enables Haller to add a supplementary argument: "Christ did not sacrifice anything at the last supper, why should we." In other respects, however, the doctrine and the arguments put forward undergo very little change. The reformers do admittedly resort to textual criticism and literary approach which they master better than their opponents, but their textual arguments do not show any great sophistication. What had changed is the presupposition concerning the nature of Christ's sacrifice. This new presupposition renders the Roman Catholics quite powerless.

THESIS SIX CONCERNING THE SAINTS

The same holds for the question of the saints: having established that Christ is the one and only Mediator, there is no point arguing about the saints and their intercessory powers. The discussion of thesis six thus turns out to be desultory to say the least. One difference since the Baden Disputation is the treatment of the distinction between the living and the dead saints, which Eck had exploited so ably against Oecolampadius in 1526.

Curiously, this time it is the Roman Catholic party in the person of Gilg Murer that raises the question of two types of intercessors ("Mittler") in the Scripture—the intercessor who saved us, who can only be Christ and no one else and the intercessors who pray for us but do not do any saving themselves. The latter are mentioned in Paul's Epistles, who says in 2 Thessalonians 3:1: "Ir Brüder bitten Gott für uns." Murer then mentions, as if in passing, that if the living can intercede for us, then so can those who are dead and in heaven. Paul himself says in 1 Corinthians 12:12 "dass wir alle samen sind Glider in Christo," and as that includes the saints in heaven, there is no reason why they should not help us.

Zwingli intervenes quickly here and argues that 1 Corinthians 12:12 applies to saints on this earth *only*. Zwingli defends this somewhat tendentious standpoint by stating that the elect in heaven cannot be considered as "Mitglieder" in the strict sense of the word, seeing as they are free from the defects of the Church down below.

As one of the Biblical passages cited by Murer is Revelation 5:8, this gives Zwingli occasion to challenge the canonicity of the Book of Revelation and thus avoid answering his opponent's rather awkward question about why the reformers are establishing a two-tier membership in Christ.

Murer's arguments are no worse than those used by Eck in Baden. If Christ prays for us in heaven, he says, and if (as the reformers admit) men can pray

for one another while on earth, then why can the saints *in heaven* not pray for us?⁴⁹

Zwingli's answer is a repetition of what he had already said in the *Schlussreden*:

Christ is up there for us so that we may have God's Word. And we too should pray for one another down here that we may have God's Word. It follows that if the saints up above pray for us, then we do not have God's Word.⁵⁰

In other words, we pray for one another on this earth so that Christ grant us the object of our prayers. If the saints in heaven were to pray for us, this would mean that we were incapable of having the Word of God while on this earth.

Whereas in Baden Eck, in defending saint worship, stressed God's omnipotence and man's worthlessness in establishing his hierarchy of intercession, here Zwingli stresses the capacities of the earthly creature to attain to Christ, and thus shows saint worship to be futile. An interesting development if we consider how often historians reduce Reformation controversies to the "Protestant = determinism, Catholic = free will" formula!

Murer then cites several Biblical passages and attempts to prove that they refer to saints in heaven. However, each time he is refuted by Zwingli. Although as Buchstab finally points out, the reformer cannot *prove* that saints in heaven do not pray for us, they have the advantage of having already proved that there is only one Mediator.

It is the Zwinglian/Augustinian position that is once again restated by Haller at that point, the only added elaboration on the argument being his assertion that when the Bible refers to the "saints," for example, in 1 Corinthians, it simply means all Christians. The reformers' task is further made easier by their dismissal of evidence from all books of the Scripture (*Revelation*, *Baruch*), etc. that they consider to be apocryphal.

The question "if the living can pray for one another, then why cannot the dead pray for the living" remains, we must admit, unanswered. What is more, one has the impression that the reformers never set out particularly to answer it. All they aimed to do was to inculcate into the minds of those present the basic tenet that Christ is the sole Mediator. In that they were extremely successful as is shown by the following exchange between Haller and Buchstab towards the end of the discussion (*Handlung*, 451):

Haller: Ich frag ob jr bekennind, dass Christus ein gnugsamer Mittler sye
(I ask whether you confess that Christ is an adequate Mediator).

⁴⁹ *Handlung*, 436–447.

⁵⁰ Z 1.442: "Christus stadt für uns da oben, darumb wir Gottes Wort haben. Und wir sollen hie für einanderen bitten, darumb wir ouch Gottes Wort haben. So folge nun, dass die Säligen da oben für uns bitten, darumb wir kein Gottes Wort haben."

Buchstab: Ja ich bekenns (Yes, I confess it).

Haller: Es is gnügsam anzugt, dass Christus unser einiger Mittler ist, deshalb wir keins andren Mittlers bedörffen (So it has been proved that Christ is our sole Mediator and that therefore we need no other).

THESIS SEVEN CONCERNING PURGATORY, AND THESES EIGHT, NINE, AND TEN

Whereas in Baden the Protestants attempted to attack the doctrine of purgatory by opposing works and faith, the starting point of the debate here is the question of who satisfies for our sins. The answer, as Haller points out in his introduction, has already been given in that the third thesis has demonstrated conclusively that Christ is our sole wisdom, justice, salvation, and satisfaction for all the sins of the world. Haller then cites several Biblical passages, but not 1 Corinthians 3:12, and concludes with a condemnation of abuses in the Roman Church:

The purgatorial fire is all the more suspect as the works that are supposed to put it out must all be purchased with money, and that from priests, so that bread is snatched from the mouths of many poor.⁵¹

The discussion turns to the question of Christ's descent into hell. Zwingli maintains (after Rufinus *In symb. Apost.* 18, MPL 21.356) that "hell" in Hebrew simply means *grave*; the Roman Catholics for their part return to the problem of faith and works. However, as is shown by Buchstab's remark, their defence lacks fundamental conviction given that they have already accepted Christ as the sole source of satisfaction: "wie Christus unser einig gnugthun sye ist in der dritten Schlusssed gnugsam verantwurt."⁵² Buchstab's sole question concerns the satisfaction for the sins of those whose faith is imperfect, for example, Peter.

Zwingli challenges this conception of faith: man's faith according to him is God-given and therefore "volkommen," it does not need to be improved by purgatorial fire. When Peter had doubts, such as on the sea of Galilee, he did not doubt that Jesus was the Son of God; he was merely uncertain about whether it was Jesus that he was seeing. This doctrine of faith of the elect, it might be noted, was also taught by Bucer.⁵³

Again the Roman Catholics have no answer and, interestingly enough, 1 Corinthians 3:12, which constituted the focus of the discussions in Baden, is here raised only briefly, and is instantly refuted by Zwingli, who affirms that Paul is referring to the Last Judgement.

⁵¹ *Handlung*, 467: "Darzu macht das Fägfür verdachtlich, das die werck so es löschen sollend, alle mit Gelt erkoufft müssen werden, und nämlich von den Pfaffen, damit mengen Armen das Brot vor dem Mund abgeschnitten wirt."

⁵² *Handlung*, 472.

⁵³ Cf. Bucer, *In Ioh.*, ed. Backus, 230 ff.

It is indeed difficult to see how the Roman Catholic disputants could defend purgatory to their opponents' satisfaction once they have admitted that Christ satisfied for the sins of the world.

If the *Acts* are to be believed, thesis eight, having to do with image worship, was barely debated at all. As for the theses nine and ten concerning marriage, they were fairly uncontroversial by their very nature and required no lengthy discussion.

CONCLUSION

All in all, it is not difficult to see why the reformers won the Berne Disputation. Indeed, they must have been absolutely certain of victory the moment they challenged and overthrew the authority of the Roman Catholic Church in the first thesis, and substituted their own interpretation of the Scripture (based implicitly or explicitly on patristic sources) to act as the criterion of Christian orthodoxy.

It would be quite nonsensical to claim as historians frequently have,⁵⁴ that the reformers' strength consisted in substituting the authority of the Scripture (interpreted according to the dictates of the Holy Spirit) for that of the Church. What the reformers in fact did was simply to substitute their own Church of largely Zwinglian and Bucerian inspiration, for the Church of Rome. That was what gave their arguments a fundamental unity and coherence against which the Roman Catholics found themselves powerless. That is also why they interpreted the Bible in the way they did and not arbitrarily as the whim took them.

⁵⁴ Cf., e.g., G.W. Locher, *Die Berner Disputation 1528* in: *Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern*, 1981, 141 ff.; K. Blaser, *L'Ecriture, son rôle et son interprétation selon la Dispute de Lausanne* in: *La Dispute de Lausanne*, ed. Junod, 49-60.

VII

Sermons During the Berne Disputation

The Disputation lasted from 6 to 26 January 1528. Nine sermons were held in the course of it, of those, eight in the final phase, between 22 and 30 January. Although both of Zwingli's sermons have been published in a modern edition¹ as has Bucer's sermon² (held on 22 January 1528), little or no attention has been paid by historians to the way in which all nine sermons served as a support to the Disputation itself. It is not for nothing that they were published as a collection at about the same time as the *Acts* and indeed by the same printer, Christopher Froschouer.³ The volume of sermons, assembled by Konrad Schmid of Küsnacht also contained the refutation of the Anabaptist articles which does not concern us here.⁴

The sermons were by no means arbitrarily delivered. Their object was twofold: (1) to drive the basic message of the Reformation to the Bernese preachers in a simplified fashion; and (2) to warn them not to exceed the Reformation mandate notably in regard to civil authorities (the Anabaptists here constituted an *exemplum horrendum* and it was very important that they be refuted once and for all).

The first to preach was Ambrosius Blarer. His sermon on the overall significance of the Disputation took place on 12 January 1528, shortly after the start of discussions on the second thesis. He was followed on 19 January (towards the end of the debate on the fourth thesis) by Ulrich Zwingli who preached on the Apostles' Creed. Bucer's sermon on Matthew 11:28–30 came on 22 January. That day (in the middle of the sixth thesis on images and saints) there were no debates,

¹ Z 6.1, 443–498.

² BDS 2.277–294.

³ *Die predigen so vonn den frönden Predicanten, die allenthalbbar zu Bernn uff dem Gespräch oder Disputation gewesen, beschehen sind. Verwerffen der articklen und stucken, so die Widertouffer uff dem Gespräch zu Bernn, vor ersamen grossem Radt fürgewendt habend. Durch Cunraden Schmid, commenthur zu Küsnacht am Zürich See. Getruckt zu Zürich durch Christophorum Froschouer in 1528 jar.*

⁴ On this see, e.g., Ernst Müller, *Geschichte der Bernischen Täufer nach den Urkunden dargestellt*, Frauenfeld, 1895 (repr. Nieuwkoop, 1972), 28–30.

so that Bucer's sermon was followed by Oecolampadius' on 2 Corinthians 11:2-3. On 26 January, the day of Haller's final speech, Konrad Som preached on Matthew 8:1-13, Thomas Gasser of Lindau on good works, and Konrad Schmid (the editor of the sermons) on Luke 10:8-16. Then, on 29 January Kaspar Megander preached on Galatians 5:1 ff. and Christian freedom and finally, on 30 January, Zwingli gave a brief sermon urging the Bernese preachers to carry on the good work of reforming their Church. It was with that end in mind that Bucer quickly wrote his *Commentary on John* which appeared in the spring of that year.

An examination of the sermons shows them to be a useful supplement to the discussions. This indeed is the sentiment expressed by Blarer in his opening words; he hopes that the sermons will bear as much if not more fruit, as the Disputation itself.⁵ He then puts the Disputation in its local and international context and expresses the hope that the Bernese will be incited by the presence of foreign theologians in their midst to have more respect for their own preachers. The Reformation, he stresses, is not a local phenomenon but:

The Gospel is preached also in other worthy Christian cities and lands, the very Gospel that you have heard here in Berne; thus the teaching of your devout and learned preachers will be respected more by certain weak brethren.⁶

The sermon is extremely Christocentric. Over and over again, Blarer stresses that Christ alone is our "wyssheit, gerechtigkeit, heyligung und erlösung" (A3v.) and that the chief aim of all the theses is to point to the correct understanding and worship of Christ. Having stated (A5r.) that the Disputation is being held in conformity with the Lord's words at Matthew 18:20 ("wherever two or three are gathered together"), Blarer then addresses himself to the masses, in other words to those to whom the significance of the Reformation is not at all clear. There are those, he says, who started off by embracing the new teaching with great enthusiasm but who then cooled off instantly. They are those who received the doctrine according to human criteria and who set their ears against the true teaching and the Holy Spirit.⁷

The rest of the sermon shows that Blarer had an altogether Bucerian concep-

⁵ *Die predigen*, A2v.: "Danebend aber bin ich onzwyfel, jr werdind ouch / A3r. / der andern hoch-verstendigen und gelerten predigen nach und nach hören, daruss dann nit weniger, ja vilycht vil mer frucht und nutz dann uss der disputation selbs, by etlichen menschen erwachsen mag."

⁶ *Ibid.*, A3r.: "und erlernend, das ouch in andern loblichen christenlichen stetten und lendern, eben das Evangelium geprediget wirt, das jr hie zu Bern ein zyt haer gehört hand; und wirt also die leer üwer frommen Gottsgelerten, thüren Predicanten mer ansehens unnd gloubwirdigkeit haben by etlichen Schwachen . . ."

⁷ A5v.: "und warumb meynend wir das die hitz viler menschen gegen den Evangelio als bald erloschen, und jr hertz massleidig worden sye, die doch von ersten als gantz inbrünstig und gefochten warend, und mocht jnen dise spyss sogar nit gnüg werden, dann allein das sy usserhalb des geysts gottes, das göttlich uf menschlich wyss habend angenommen, und anfangs ire oren uffgericht gegen der warhafftigen leer des göttlichen worts . . ."

tion of the visible Church and of the importance of the Holy Spirit.⁸ Once the novelty of the Reformation teachings has worn off, most people misinterpret them, he says. Some think that the Gospel promises political freedom, others use the new teaching simply as an excuse to air their grievances about priests. This phenomenon, Blarer acknowledges, is far more widespread than true faith.⁹ However, he insists in the wake of Bucer and the Strasbourg reformers that the Gospel absolutely must be preached even though we cannot be sure that it will be understood in the right way. What is more, it must be preached so that it is comprehensible, since the truth on its own is not strong enough to make all men into true believers.

The relationship between the spiritual conversion and the preached word is not one of necessity. Some will have the Spirit without hearing the word, and some will hear the word and remain carnal. However, the Reformation has brought a new spirituality for those that are ready for it, and Blarer uses this new spirituality as key argument for why no judges are necessary in the Disputation:

For as the knowledge of truth does not come from preaching and listening to the word of God, unless his Spirit is also present, and given that the Spirit does not move all those minds that hear the preached word, we cannot put our faith in any judge for no judge holds men's hearts or the Holy Spirit in his power.¹⁰

Orthodoxy, according to Blarer, is not verifiable in human terms. In support of this view he cites Jerome who refused to denounce Pelagians as heretics to the civil authorities.¹¹

Having dismissed the need for judges, Blarer attacks the question of the weaker brethren who will not necessarily believe what we believe although they hear the same doctrine. Those who are stronger should love the weaker brethren and try and protect them.

It is obvious that Blarer knows how to make full use of Bucer's Augustinian doctrine of the visible Church as a mixed body and of the Strasbourg's teaching on the Holy Spirit. Blarer uses these views to point up the inevitable nature of the Reformation and its divine origin (the Holy Spirit) but also to show the

⁸ The best introduction is still Peter Stephens, *The Holy Spirit in the Theology of Martin Bucer*, Cambridge, 1970.

⁹ A6r.: "Dargegen hört man nienen oder an gar wenig orten da man inn den hüsern zusammen kompt, das man einander vermane zu einen Christenlichen gotteselligen läben."

¹⁰ A8v.: "Dann diewyl die erkantnuss der warheyt . . . nit kompt allein uss usserlichem leren und hören gottes wort, sin geyst würcke dann mitt, und aber dieser geyst nit aller deren gmüter berürt, die das usserlich wort hörend, so kan man sich ye hinder keinen richter verdingen, diewyl kein menschlicher richter die herten in siner hand, oder den geyst gottes zugeben gvalt hat."

¹¹ B1v.-B2r.: "Also spricht der heylig Hieronymus by nach am end des drytten buchs wider die Pelagianer. Es ist eyn grosse thorheit, so ich mynes gloubens halb an eins andern urteyl hangen welt, dann Pelagius sagt zu Hieronymo under der Person Cristobuli: lieber sind wir ketzer, warum verklagstu uns nit vor dem richter . . ." (Cf. Jerome, *Dialogus contra Pelagianos* 3.17; MPL 23.615).

Bernese that the Holy Spirit will not be given in the same measure to everyone. In other words, the more "reformed" are to be kind to those that lapse. There is no question of setting up an exclusive community of the "saved" as only the Holy Spirit (and so God) knows who the saved are. One cannot help but note that this is extremely sensible advice in the circumstances.

Equally sensible but more surprising in the circumstances are Blarer's remarks on the eucharistic quarrel, which amount to a plea for mutual toleration. Putting himself in the place of a not overeducated preacher who wants to teach the Reformation doctrines from the pulpit but who is confused by the conflict, Blarer gives the following advice:

If you are certain in your own mind that one party or the other is right, then be of sufficiently indulgent mind and brotherly heart so that you do not condemn or exclude from your affection those that believe otherwise . . .¹²

If, on the other hand, someone cannot decide in favour of one side or the other, he would do best to address himself to God and pray thus:

I pray to you with all my heart, give grace and Spirit so that we can agree in our understanding of the truth, for your praise and our salvation.¹³

Blarer ends his sermon on an "Erasmian note" saying that in the early Church one did not worry too much about "klugen spitzigen fragen" such as that of real presence but simply concentrated on preaching Christ. There are several rituals which are part of the Christian faith, that are neither "gebotten" nor "verbotten." These include fasting, eating of meat, and, so Blarer implies, the way in which Christ is present in the eucharist once it has been established that he is not physically present.

Interestingly, a similar plea for tolerance in eucharistic matters had been and will be put forward by Bucer.¹⁴ However, at no point does the Strasbourger overtly state that the question of real presence is an *adiaphoron* or that those who cannot make up their minds for one side or the other should not attempt to make a decision, but should pray to God instead.

In a word, Blarer has no illusions about the public he is addressing. The men who will assume the task of preaching the Reformation in Berne are neither very skilled in theology nor particularly zealous, and the same goes for their faithful. They are simply to put themselves into the hands of God and do their best.

Zwingli's sermon on the Apostles' Creed served the contrary purpose, that of

¹² B4r.-v.: "Bis tu dines bedunckens versicheret in diner gewissen, das die oder yene parthy recht hab, so byss doch eyns sölichen glympfigen geystes unnd brüderlichenn hertzens, das du die andern, so das widerspyl haltend, darumm nit verdammest, noch von diner liebe usschliessest . . ."

¹³ B5r.: "Bitt dich von hertzen, gib gnad unnd geyst, damit wir zu einmütigem verstand der warheyt, nach dinem lob und unserm heyl kommen mögind."

¹⁴ See Bucer, *In Ioh.*, ed. Backus, 67 and nn. 171, 172.

giving the Bernese preachers a brief summary of doctrine, which they could see accorded with the very earliest teaching of the Church. At the same time the reformer used the opportunity to reply to some of the criticisms that had been levelled against him by Eck and Fabri on the occasion of the Baden Disputation. The Apostles' Creed was indeed universally considered as contemporary with the Bible. Pseudo-Augustine's *Sermon* 240¹⁵ specified exactly when the Creed was composed and which article was composed by which apostle. Moreover, the twelve apostles, each holding one article of the Creed, were a standard feature of mediaeval Church decoration. The text was thus familiar to even the most ignorant laymen and Erasmus' questioning of its apostolic origins¹⁶ did not find any wide acclaim. Certainly, Zwingli, whatever he felt or did not feel about Erasmus' dating of the document, was not going to confuse the already confused faithful by referring to the problem.

What Zwingli did do was to comment on the Creed article-by-article. He thus explains that *I believe* (*ich gloub*) means to him not just *understand* or *consider to be true*, but also *trust* (*vertrauen*). He explains that it would not be profitable for us to simply believe that there was a God without putting our trust in him.¹⁷ *In one God* (*in einen Gott*) means to Zwingli that God is the highest good and the only truth. His providence governs everything, and everything that befalls us in this life is due entirely to him: "when honour or riches are conferred upon us, we should always think: this has been ordained by God."¹⁸

After using the metaphor of a triangular well to explain the doctrine of the Trinity in commenting on The Father and the nature of God's omnipotence in Almighty—"not only can God do everything that he wants to do, in the same way as a man, he is also the power of all things . . . so that without him nothing has the strength to do anything, to be, or to subsist,"¹⁹—Zwingli then explains the different attributes of the three persons of the Trinity (the Father: creation; the Son: wisdom; the Holy Spirit: consolation).

In explaining the article *the only begotten Son*, Zwingli refers to the *Quicumque vult* (which he attributes to Athanasius) to explain the parallel between the two natures, carnal and spiritual, in man; and two natures, human and divine, in Christ.²⁰ He emphasises the immaculate conception of Christ,²¹ defends himself

¹⁵ MPL 39.2189 ff.

¹⁶ Cf. ASD 5.1.199. In the *Ratio* of 1519 Erasmus suggests that it was a fourth century document, produced during the Council of Nicaea.

¹⁷ Z 6.1.451: "Glycherwyss, so wir allein gloubtind, das ein gott wäre, vertrautind aber nit, das er unser gott und vatter . . ."

¹⁸ Z 6.1.455: "Gegnet uns eer oder ryctag, söllend wir allwäg gedencken: Dass beschicht uss gottes ordnung."

¹⁹ Z 6.1.457.

²⁰ Z 6.1.465.

²¹ Z 6.1.466: "Der aller welt sünd hinnehmen, solt ouch on alle anfechtung des fleyschs und der sünd empfangen werden."

against Fabri's accusation that he denies the virginity of Mary, and interprets *hell* to mean Christ's salvation of those predestined to eternal life, albeit dead before the Incarnation.²²

The most important part of Zwingli's sermon naturally concerns the articles to do with Christ's resurrection and his sitting on the right hand of God. On commenting *Am dritten tag ufferstanden von den toeten*, the reformer overtly refers to Eck's and Fabri's use of Irenaeus in the Baden Disputation. Citing *Adversus haereses* 5:2 (MPG 7.11257) "das der lychnam Christi uns speise zu Auferstehung," Zwingli insists that Irenaeus' words have nothing to do with real presence, contrary to what Eck and Fabri claim. The Church Father is simply saying that Christ's resurrection guarantees our own.²³

In great detail, and obviously not sharing Blarer's rather sanguine view of "spitzige fragen," Zwingli comments on the three following articles of the Creed, expounding his doctrine of Christ's flesh, denying the doctrine of real presence, be it Lutheran or Roman Catholic, and showing that his interpretation of *is* to mean *signifies* has very venerable antecedents among the Church Fathers; the term was thus interpreted by no lesser theologians than Ambrose and Jerome.²⁴

No less striking is the reformer's insistence on the catholicity of the Church, which must not, at any price, be allowed to fragment into local churches of Ulm, Basle, Constance, etc. The *communion of saints*, he then emphasises, is the community of the faithful; the Catholics are quite wrong when they teach that the deceased faithful are with God and intercede for us. Finally, he insists on the resurrection of the flesh and condemns the Anabaptists for teaching that our body and soul sleep until the Last Judgement.

Bucer's sermon, held on 22 January, was like Blarer's extremely Christocentric and was probably at least partly intended as a complement to the debates on the sixth thesis. According to the Strasbourger, "come to me all ye who are weary and heavy-laden" is a call of Christ because the Father gave every thing to him and created all things through him. Bucer emphasises that Christ is the only true Mediator between men and God, and that true faith in Christ and true knowledge of God are the work of the Holy Spirit.

Characteristically, Bucer devotes some attention to interpreting the identity of "all who are weary and heavy-laden."²⁵ He stresses, as Blarer has done, that all can hear the Gospel but only "the poor in Spirit" who acknowledge their sins²⁶ understand its true sense. The "poor in Spirit" are the elect, they will follow Christ in his humility and suffering and accept no other master. Christ, it is emphasised,

²² Cf. Bucer, In *Ioh.*, ed. Backus, 526.

²³ Z 6.1.468.

²⁴ Z 6.1.487.

²⁵ Cf. B Ev 1527 [1553] *ad loc.*, 108r-v.

²⁶ BDS 2.285: "Alle zwar hörend das Evangelium, aber die armen am geist, die iren sünd empfindend, nemmens allein mit frouden an und bringent frucht. Secht ir, die Gott erwelt hat, denen verlyhet er synen geyst, das sy in förchten . . ."

is our only means of salvation; we should turn only to him and to no creature. The Gospel, concludes Bucer, is no more and no less than coming to Christ, accepting the fact that he will give everything so that no human good works are necessary, any more than intercession of the saints.²⁷

Although not very rich in pastoral details, the sermon does nonetheless contain an injunction to monks not to be afraid of seeking the new spirituality and leaving the cloister. They need have no fears of indigence; the authorities will provide.²⁸

Oecolampadius' sermon on 2 Corinthians 11:2 ff. is a warning against false testimonies of Christ. The Basle reformer specifies from the outset that his sermon is in two halves of which the first is addressed to the preachers and the second to the faithful. The first part is in fact intended to warn the reformed congregations against spiritualism and the dangers of the Anabaptist notions of the ministry. No one comes to Christ, notes Oecolampadius, unless he is impelled by the Holy Spirit. Nonetheless (and here he gives examples of Abraham and Paul) God has chosen certain servants to preach the message of his Son and to prepare the faithful. These servants or ministers are "besonder gute fründ und diener"²⁹ of God, and have certain obligations which Oecolampadius proceeds to outline. They are to constantly pray to God that He guide their works so that they further the glory of his name.³⁰ They should put service to God before all worldly gains and pleasures. Moreover, it is their duty to "subjugate their flock to faith" ("dem glouben underwürfflich machen") without making God into a tyrant, but simply showing the limitlessness of his power, his mercy, and so on. Oecolampadius specifies further that the pastor must not teach his faithful human rites and ceremonies, such as fasting.

However, this does not mean that the faithful are to lapse into spiritualism, the Basle reformer hastens to add:

We should all make an effort that the people are not only faithful but also holy, that is that they guard themselves from all uncleanness and practise good works and become purer every day.³¹

²⁷ BDS 2.289: "Das Evangelion heysst nun zu Christo kommen, er werde alles geben, so wellend sy noch dennoch gern daby haben der lieben heyligen fürbitt, diss und yenes werck, deren und yener abbrücken."

²⁸ BDS 2.294: "Es söllend ouch die gutwilligen priester und ordenslüt nit kleinmütig werden oder besorgen, diss joch Christi werde inen zu hertt werden, werdind von ir narung kommen und derglychen. Nein, lieben herren, so man Christenlich handelt, findend ir ruw an lyb und seel, ouch in der unruf und anfechtung dess fleyschs: dann was not ist, muss zufallen lassen, die das ryck Gottes und Gottes gerechtigkeit suchend. Die Oberkeyt wirt yedermann, wie sy schuldig ist, vätterlich bedencken" (an allusion to the Strasbourg magistrates who offered financial help to monks leaving the monastery).

²⁹ *Die predigen*, H1v.

³⁰ *Die predigen*, H2r-v.: "Also lieben bruder, es will Gott von uns ernstlich angerüfft sin, den wir alzyt bitten sollen, das er uns verlihe in unseren dienst getrűw erfunden werden, und das er unser werck in die eer sines namens zu glucksaligem end fűre."

³¹ *Ibid.*, H4r.: "Darumb söllend wir unns flyssen, dass das volck nit allein gloubig sye, sonder ouch heylig, das ist, das es sich vonn aller unreynigkeyt hute und sich in guten werken űbe, unnd werde von tag zu tag reynner."

In the second part of his sermon, addressed more specifically to the flock, Oecolampadius shows himself to be even more Christocentric. We must be absolutely coherent and single minded ("einfältig") in our worship of and in our faith in Christ:

If Christ is our justification, where is the unity, if I trust in my works? If I make Christ be present in the bread of the sacrament, how can I coherently believe that he has physically gone to heaven?³²

The general tenour of the sermon is thus no different from Blarer's or Bucer's. Although less emphasis is placed on the Holy Spirit, Oecolampadius tries to point both the preachers and the faithful in the right spiritual direction which consists in dismantling much of the existing superstructure of good works, without however lapsing into spiritualism or complete *laissez-faire*. It is interesting to note just how acutely aware all the main participants in the Berne Disputation are of the extremes to be avoided.

Konrad Som's sermon is by no means exceptional in this respect. Before embarking on his interpretation of the healing of the leper and the centurion's son, Som emphasises the role of the Christian magistrates: they are to see to it that the Gospel is preached correctly not only in the city of Berne but also in the entire canton. Then, coming to the parable of the leper, he warns his public against believing that it is Jesus' words as such that have healing power; all they do is *announce* the power of Christ. In the same way Christ's words "this is my body," pronounced during the last supper, do not bring his body into the bread. Matthew 8:4 is read in context with Mark 1:45. The latter passage, says Som, shows that the leper told everyone about the cure and thus brought it about that people expected physical miracles from the Lord and not spiritual benefits.³³ Som's interpretation of "go and show yourself to the priest" is derived directly from Bucer's *Commentary on the Synoptics*; the "Bäpstler" interpret leprosy to mean *sin* and "show" to mean *confess*.³⁴ Som insists that this is a "felschung der Gschrifft." However, Som does not deny that Christ is prescribing or imposing a *rite*. On the contrary, Christ is recommending that a rite be carried out; this is because he did not want to break the Old Testament law which was still operational.³⁵ However, Som insists that the parable has nothing whatever to do with auricular confession.

Again it is the two "extreme fronts" of the Reformation that are attacked: the Roman Catholic Church on the one hand, and the Anabaptists on the other. To drive his message home, Som extracts the relevant ideas from Bucer's *Commentary on the Synoptics*, leaving out the theological subtleties that Bucer's work abounds in.

³² *Ibid.* H5v.: "So Christus unser gerechtigkeit ist, wo blypt die einfaltigkeit, wann ich in myn werck vertrauen setz? So ich Christus gegenwirtig in das sacramentlich brot stell, wie wird ich einfältiglich glauben, das er dem lyb nach gen himmel gefaren sye?"

³³ Cf. B Ev 1527 [1553], 79r.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 79v.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 79v.

Som's interpretation of the centurion parable is also typically "Bucerian": the centurion's faith, he explains, was greater than the leper's as he thought that Christ could heal with one word, without ever seeing or touching the sick.³⁶ The parable also shows the limitlessness of Christ's mercy as he immediately healed the son of a man who was not just a heathen but also a man of war.³⁷ Then returning to the question of the centurion's faith, he compares it favourably to the small faith of those who are not content with the spiritual presence of Christ but wish to have him physically present in the sacrament. He then ends his sermon on an explicitly anti-Anabaptist note. The Anabaptists, he says ironically, would have been very cross with Christ for saying that the centurion's faith was greater than any he had encountered in Israel, as they claim that a Christian cannot exercise civil authority.³⁸

One question that would and obviously did arise in the minds of the faithful after the Berne Disputation was concerning the status of good works. Were they at all necessary given the overriding importance of salvation by faith, and the arguments advanced during the discussion of the third thesis? It is thus not surprising to find merit as the main theme of Thomas Gasser's sermon. Throughout he stresses that redemption through Christ is due to God's love and nothing else. Salvation depends solely on grace and not at all on merit, Christ being our sole Mediator, Saviour, and Lord whom we are to imitate.³⁹ But, continues Gasser, some people in their carnal misunderstanding claim that, if we are saved by faith, we need perform no good works. They have obviously not realised that faith is a divine force, that cannot exist in the hearts of the elect without good works.⁴⁰ And then, obviously with the intention of forging a community spirit, Gasser specifies that all Christians should perform three distinct types of good works: "gegen Gott" (praise), "gegen selbs" (guard against carnal temptation), and "gegen den nächsten" ("allerley werck der brüderlichen liebe"). It is interesting to note that although Gasser stresses that those good works are nothing to do with ceremonies and that they are for the honour of God and not for our own,⁴¹ he does not touch on the theological issue of whether it is the faithful that perform good works, or whether in fact their good works amount to God working within them. Even if he was aware of the issue himself, Gasser obviously did not want to con-

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 83r.

³⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, 81v.

³⁸ *Die predigen*, J2r.: "Sy sagend doch ein Christ möge kein Oberer sein, sy hettind disenn hauptmann für kein Christen gehalten."

³⁹ *Ibid.*, J4r.: "Und wie es im anfang was, so ist es im gantzen werck der erlösung alles gnad und nit verdienst." J5r.: "Durch inn habbend wir ein sicheren zugang zum vatter. Er ist der weg, das leben und die warheyte. Den söllend jr, lieben fründ für üweren einigen mitler, erlöser und heyland erkennen, annehmen mit grosser danckbarkeyt und jm nachvolgen."

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, J5v.: "Die also sagend, die habend nit erkennt das der gloyb ein krafft Gottes sye, in den hertzen der usserwelten zu allen guten, der on gute werck nit sin kan, die der lieb Gott an den sy gloybend erfordert."

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, J6v.: "... suchend darinn die eer Gottes allein unnd nit das üwer . . ."

fuse the faithful. It is with the same intention of fostering a community spirit without delving into theological subtleties that he describes the sacraments. They were given to us for a double purpose; first, "to bind Christians outwardly into a community,"⁴² and second, for purposes of thanksgiving. The sermon ends with an excursus on the Holy Spirit, who is the assurance and seal of all God's promises.

Konrad Schmid's sermon on Luke 10:8–16 is addressed not so much to the faithful as to the preachers who should be concerned principally with proclaiming the Gospel and not with clothing or payment. There is, however, no point in preaching the Gospel where it will not be heard. Predictably, Schmid's interpretation of "heal the sick in the town" refers "the sick" to those who have problems with their faith, and suggests that he too was familiar with Bucer's *Commentary on the Synoptic Gospels*.⁴³ Then, although congratulating the Bernese on their wholehearted adoption of the Reformation, he warns them of possible political difficulties (K5v.):

Hear ye pious Christians here in Berne, how loudly the word of Christ thunders against those who will not hear it and who exclude his saving grace. . . if you are strong and continue to follow the sound of God's word, the world will be against you, that is the powerful, the splendid, the mighty, Annas, Caiphas, Pilate and Herod . . .⁴⁴

Like Gasser, Schmid emphasises the importance of good works. Although they do not *save*, in performing them we also fulfil God's will in a manner analogous to a king's son who fulfils his father's will (L3r.):

When the king has a son, the son is his heir without working for it, but once born he must do his father's will, or be cast out. In the same way we who believe and trust in God are his children and heirs.⁴⁵

Christian freedom, its scope and limits, constitute the main theme of Megander's sermon on Galatians 5:1 ff. Megander stresses that Paul understands here not the external or carnal freedom "sonder fryheyt der seel" which consists in the soul "learning how to become holy and saved through Jesus Christ."⁴⁶

⁴² *Die predigen*, J6v.: "Das wir durch die selbigenn ouch usswendig vereinbart wurdend, unnd von anderen völkler abgerändert."

⁴³ Cf. B Ev 1527 [1553] *ad* Matthew 10:8 ff., 97v.

⁴⁴ "Hörend zu frommen Christenn hie zu Bern, wie die wort Christi so scharpff tondrend wider die so sin wort nit annemmen, unnd sin heylsame gnad ussschlahen . . . haltend jr das spil und farend für nach lutt des Göttlichenn worts, so wirdt die welt wider üch syn, das ist die gewaltigen, brachtlichen, die mechtigen, Annas, Cayphas, Pilatus und Herodes . . ."

⁴⁵ "Also cim Küng ein sun wirt geborn, is er sin erb on alle werck, hatt nüt darzu gethon, aber er muss darnach sins vatters willen tun oder er stosst jn uss, also ouch so wir in gott glouben und jm vertrauen, werdend wir kinder und erben gotts."

⁴⁶ *Die predigen*, L5r.: ". . ja da sy erlernet hat den weg, heyl und sälig zewerden durch Christum Jesum."

Thus the soul no longer places its confidence in its works. Megander then asks the preachers present not to forget that the Disputation was not intended to win them political freedom, and indeed has not done so. On no account are they to set themselves up in opposition to civil authorities. Again, much of the sermon is devoted to the question of merit:

Paul teaches us how the hope linked to our merit not only does not save us but is pernicious and condemns us.⁴⁷

“In Christ there is no circumcision,” Megander interprets as meaning that a Jew has no advantage in being circumcised and the heathen no advantage in being uncircumcised. Man earns merit only through faith.

Zwingli’s second sermon is no more than an encouragement to carry on the good work. Read as a whole the sermons are seen to serve a very particular aim: to distill the essential points of the theological debates that most of the preachers present would not have understood and to separate once and for all the Reformation from the Anabaptist movement. The discussions with the Anabaptists forming a separate topic, I do not propose to dwell upon them here.

⁴⁷ L7v.: “Wie uns die hoffnung unsers verdiensts nit nun allein nit selig machet, sunder schädlich und verdamlich ist.”

VIII

Some "Post-Berne" Publications

CAUSSA HELVETICA

This publication was barely mentioned by von Muralt. Yet it shows how strongly the Roman Catholic Controversialists were convinced that the Baden Disputation resolved matters once and for all. It also shows something of their inability to find new arguments to refute the decisions of the Berne Disputation. This latter tendency will become even clearer when we analyse Eck's *Verlegung*. The *Causa helvetica* is in fact Murner's Latin translation of the Baden *Acts*, together with some important additions. It was published in Lucerne (by Murner) on 25 August 1528 under the title *Causa helvetica orthodoxae fidei. Disputatio Helvetiorum in Baden superiori coram duodecim cantonum oratoribus et nuntiis pro sanctae fidei catholicae veritate et divinarum literarum defensione, habita contra Martini Lutheri, Ulrichi Zwinglii et Oecolampadii perversa et famosa dogmata*.¹ It is enough to compare this title with that of the German *Acts* published by Murner on 18 May 1527² to see that it is not merely a translation into Latin that Murner primarily intended, but a condemnation of all the Protestant factions involved in the Berne Disputation.

While the translation of the *Acts* themselves (entitled *Acta Eckii*) is remarkably accurate, Murner's additions alter considerably the profile of the text. They consist of two pieces; the first is a Latin summary of Fabri's *Christenliche bewysung über*

¹ (Expressum Lucernae Helvetiorum orthodoxa et catholica civitate. Anno servatoris nostri ihesu Christi, 1528, vigesima quinta Augusti.)

² *Die disputacion vor den xij orten einer loblichen eidtgnoschafft nämlich Bern, Lutzern, Ury, Schwytz, Undervualden ob und nidt dem kernwalt Zug mitt den sampt usser an ampt Glaris, Basel, Friburg, Solothorn, Schaffhusen und Appenzell, von wegen der einigkeit in christlichem glauben in irem landen und underthonen der fier bistumb Costenz, Basel, Losanen uund Chur beschehen und in dem iar Christi unsers erlösers Mcccc und xxvi uff den xvj tag des Meyens erhöret und zu Baden im ergöw irer stattgehalten unnd vollendet.* (This title is followed by a prayer to the virgin Mary: "Maria zart man sagt von dir // Gross lob und eer das gloubent wir // du habst gmeine Cristenheit // Vor yrthum bhielt und ouch vor leid // Ach hilf uns ouch zu einikeit // Durch din sun Jhesum reine meydt // Rieff an für uns sin götlich krafft // Zu frid und rüw der Eidtgnoschafft").

sechs Artikel des unchristlichen Ulrich Zwinglins. This was a long refutation of Zwingli's doctrines specially prepared by Fabri for the Baden Disputation where he did not have an opportunity of delivering it, Zwingli being absent! He thus had to content himself with handing the manuscript over to the Confederates and with publishing it shortly afterwards.³ The second set of additions announced by Murner is the Latin version of his 40 "Ehrlose Erklärungen" which he had read out at the Disputation and already published in the German version.⁴

However, it quickly becomes apparent that the *Acta Fabri* in the *Causa helvetica* are not confined to a summary of the *Christenliche Beweisung*. They also contain a long list of *Mendacia Oecolampadii* compiled by Murner himself. How do the different additions fit together? Murner admits quite openly that he has abridged Fabri's *Christenliche Beweisung* so that it is not too onerous for the reader.⁵ He recounts the circumstances in which the *Beweisung* was composed, adding "lest the length of the work discourage people from reading it or bore them and so that the Baden proceedings do not fall into oblivion, we have appended a summary of the work here. Thus all those who love the truth will be able to perceive the difference between the heretical, ignorant and asinine Berne Disputation and the Catholic Disputation of Baden . . ."⁶ Murner then adds that he intends to print the *Acts* of both the Disputations in Latin and in German, an intention he obviously did not carry out.⁷

The summary of the *Beweisung* follows the original division into six parts and is accurate. Murner speaks in the third person, thus making it plain that he is only the summariser and not the author. In the first part, Fabri lists the contradictions in Zwingli's doctrine of the real presence; he cites thirty-seven passages where Zwingli affirms it and thirty-eight where he denies it. Further contradictions are to do with the Scripture as ultimate criterion of truth, the baptismal formula, the testament of the blood of Christ, and free will. In the second part of the *Beweisung* Fabri concentrates on the differences between Luther's and Zwingli's teaching, again particularly in the matter of the eucharist, and in the third part he shows Zwingli to be repeating all the ancient (and recent) heresies. The fourth part of the *Beweisung* shows how all the Fathers support the Roman Catholic party. It must be said that Murner makes a very good job of cutting the very cumbersome *Beweisung* and reducing it to a few pages.

³ See von Mural, 119; Köhler, 346.

⁴ See *supra*, pp. 9-13.

⁵ *Causa helvetica*, 369v. "Secunda pars Badensis Disputationis Actorum doctoris Iohannis Fabri, a Murnero in Summam compendio quodam redacta, ne legentibus sit onerosa."

⁶ *Ibid.*, 369v.-370r.: "Ne autem illius libri prolixitas a legendo quenquam deterreat afficiatque tedio, aut certe quae in Disputatione Badensi acta sunt, ignota supprimantur, in summam redactum eundem librum praesentibus adiunximus. Quibus videre possit veritatis amator, quid inter Bernensem, haereticam, indoctam et asininam disputationem et Badensem catholicam intersit discriminis . . ."

⁷ *Ibid.*, 370r.: "Utriusque enim et gesta et acta expressione invulgare germano et latino eloquio in animo mihi est . . ."

Immediately after the fourth part (376r.) he inserts a section entitled "The lies of Oecolampadius, with which he tried to make the ancient doctors of the early Church speak for his party albeit against their will,"⁸ where he explains that the fourth part of the *Christenliche Beweysung* shows the importance of patristic authority in general and just how far the heretical Protestant sect departs from patristic teachings. Oecolampadius, continues Murner, was aware of this and foresaw that his party would rapidly come to a sad end, unless he convinced the Christian folk that the Protestants did not dissent from the doctrines of the Fathers:

As he could not show it truthfully, the wretch attempted to show it untruthfully with nonsensical inventions, lies, tricks and impostures, in five deplorable tomes, defecated rather than published, against the true doctrine of the eucharist.⁹

The Swiss turned out to be particularly unfortunate in that they fell into the trap cunningly set by "that scoundrel" (Oecolampadius) and by Zwingli, denying the real presence of Christ in the eucharist.¹⁰

Fortunately, Oecolampadius' five deplorable tomes were ably refuted by John Fisher. Murner (or so he says) on reading Fisher's reply, was able to select a number of lies "as being particularly worth a mention so that the Swiss can see exactly what they are subjected to."

What Murner has done is to select abridged excerpts from John Fisher's *De veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in eucharistia libri quinque adversus Iohannem Oecolampadium recens editi*.¹¹ This was a very detailed refutation of Oecolampadius' *De genuina*,¹² consisting of fairly lengthy quotations from the latter work, each quotation being accompanied by a detailed refutation in smaller type. Murner has selected fifty passages. In most cases, he cites only the first few words of the Oecolampadius excerpt so that the reader cannot possibly guess its context. Fisher's replies, however, are cited at much greater length (albeit tendentiously) so that an uninitiated reader could easily get the impression that Oecolampadius' arguments, whatever they are, are easily and totally demolished by the Roman Catholic bishop. Here is just one example of Murner's literary method:

The first lie, chapter 2. *Oecolampadius*: Look, with deliberate negligence, etc. And Fisher in his reply repels this lie against the most deserving of theolo-

⁸ 376r.: "Oecolampadii mendacia quibus priscos ecclesiae sanctae doctores conatus est, etiam invitos et reluctantes in suas partes trahere."

⁹ 376v.: "Quod cum nulla veritate potuit, meris nugis, mendaciis, sycophantiis et imposturis quinque deploratissimis libris, cacatis magis quam editis in eucharistiae veritatem vir improbus fallaciter attentavit."

¹⁰ 376v.: "In hoc enim caeteris Lutheranis infoeliciores sunt seducti Helvetii nostri, quod huius nebulonis et Zwinglianae haeresis versutia et dolis circumventi, Christum Iesum in eucharistiae sacramento negant esse praesentem . . ."

¹¹ [Cologne], Eucharius Cervicorn, 1527.

¹² *Ioannis Oecolampadii de genuina verborum Domini, hoc est corpus meum, iuxta vetustissimos auctores expositione liber* (first ed. 1525, Cf. Staehelin, *Bibl.*)

gians, showing that Peter Lombard followed the definition of the early Fathers and the entire Church and did not teach anything new. We would be considered as no more than asses, if we abandoned the faith of our fathers, seduced by Oecolampadius' wiles.¹³

Murner's reference is perfectly correct. The full text of both the Oecolampadius excerpt and of Fisher's response is to be found on pages 7–10 of Fisher's *De veritate*. Oecolampadius is in fact asserting that it is Peter Lombard who is the source of all erroneous belief to do with real presence. Fisher's quotation from *De genuina* is lengthy and exact, and Fisher's reply extremely detailed. His argument consists in affirming that many a learned theologian had recourse to Peter Lombard (for example, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, etc.), and that all those were praised for their "ingenium" by Pico della Mirandola. Besides (an unspecified) "tota successio Christianorum" believed that Christ's body is present in the eucharist "sub specie panis." In a word, concludes Fisher, it is Oecolampadius who is constituting a new doctrine.

Murner's summary of Fisher's argument is, as we can see, highly tendentious. It implies that the Bishop of Rochester actually shows with detailed references to Lombard and the Fathers that the "Magister's" doctrine has the support of patristic texts.

Apart from the slant given by Murner to particular passages from Fisher's *De veritate*, it is interesting to consider his selection of passages as such. Excerpts picked out in Book one are to do with Oecolampadius' misunderstanding of the Fathers, notably Ambrose and Chrysostom. The largest number of *mendacia* taken from Book two are to do with Oecolampadius' denial of the sacrifice of the mass. Of the ten passages taken from Book three nearly all are to do with the nature of Christ's physical presence in the bread. The forty-four passages from Book four concern the question of manducation by the unworthy, and the forty-nine passages taken from Book five are mainly to do with Oecolampadius' fundamental misunderstanding of Augustine on the subject of real presence.

Again one cannot help but admire the way in which Murner, by judiciously abridging and slanting his texts, achieves exactly the effect he wants: to prove that Oecolampadius' feeble and dishonest attempts to show that his doctrine was in line with the Early Church had been definitively discredited by Fisher. In conclusion to his selection of *Mendacia Oecolampadii*, Murner refers to the Berne Disputation of which he still intends to publish the Latin *Acts*:

but I already wanted to bring this to the notice of our Confederates, so that even if they are half blind, they can at least feel the lies by which this wicked

¹³ *Causa helvetica*, 377r.: "Mendacium primum capi. ii. Oeco. Age consulta dissimulatione, etc. Cui Roffensis hoc in virum optime de re christiana meritum mendatium in propria palata reiicit quippe quod priorum patrum et totius ecclesiae definitionem sequutus sit et non Magister nova docuerit. Nosque meros asinos censendos si relictis maiorum fide ad Oecolampadii perfidiam diverteremus."

man made them fall, in the matter of the eucharist, into the abyss of error more deeply than other Lutherans. With similar four hundred lies they imposed very recently pernicious nonsense upon the simple and the common in their heretical, asinine, ignorant and lay disputation held in Berne, and with such highly impertinent lies and tricks they caused them to defect from the holy Mother-Church.¹⁴

After this long digression Murner briefly summarises parts five and six of the *Christenliche Beweisung*, which deal, respectively, with the General Councils and with Fabri's additional arguments against Zwingli's doctrine of real presence.

The *Acta Murneri* that follow are no more than a Latin translation of *Ein warhafftigs verantwurten* with just the prefaces omitted. Three features of the *Causa helvetica* deserve particular mention. First, Murner seems to think that the Baden verdict served to condemn the Protestant party once and for all. Second, although he makes it quite clear that he was familiar with the Berne proceedings, he does not seem to come up with any new arguments against the reformers. Is this due solely to his conviction that the Protestants had already been refuted, or is he also experiencing a genuine difficulty in finding something new to say? Third, it is interesting to note the large part given over to showing through the *Mendacia Oecolampadii* that the Early Church is on the side of the Roman Catholics. Are we to conclude from this that after the Berne Disputation, especially after its participants' attempt to constitute themselves as the legitimate heirs of the Apostolic Church, Murner genuinely feared a marginalisation of the Roman Church? This possibility is not to be excluded.¹⁵

ECK'S VERLEGUNG

Eck, it could be said, went one step further than Murner and, not content with simply republishing the 1526 refutations, wrote a reasoned critique of the Berne Disputation. The title, like that of the *Causa helvetica*, is revealing:

Verlegung der disputation zu Bern, mit grund götlicher geschrifft durch Johann Eck Doctor etc. An die Christenliche ordt der Eydgnoßschaft. Ain tafel newer ketzerischen artickeln / so durch die Disputanten da (ausserhalb der verdampten schlussreden) bekant seind worden / ain jeden frommen Christen zu meyden. // Kayserlicher Maystat regiment verbot der disputation zu Bern // Auch des Bischoffs von

¹⁴ *Causa helvetica*, 389r.: “. . . his iam numeratis nostris helvetiis notum facere volui, ut si lippī sint, palpent tamen quibus mendaciis plus caeteris Lutheranis in eucharistiae veritate per hunc nequam virum in errorum abyssum delapsi sint. Similibus quadringentis mendaciis et affectata nugandi impostura novissime in sua haeretica, asinina, indocta et laica disputatione Bernensibus habita simplicibus et idiotis imposuerunt et a sancta matre ecclesia talibus impudentissimis mendaciis atque praestigiis descicere fecerunt.”

¹⁵ Murner felt at any rate threatened enough to refute the Disputation on legal grounds in *Hie würt angezeigt* (CC 22.39–86).

Costenz vätterlich und der Eydgnossen trewlich verwarnung an die von Bern / wider die Disputation. 1528.

It makes the point that the tract has above all the well being of the Confederates at heart, that (like the Disputation itself) it is founded on the Scripture, that it has the support of the Emperor and of the Roman Catholic Church authorities, and that it contains heretical propositions extracted from the debates. The heretical propositions are numbered from one to twenty-six and figure on pages VI–VIII of the *Verlegung*. They are accompanied by a folio number of the *Acts*¹⁶ where they are to be found. Some of the propositions Eck considers to be simply repetitions of ancient heresies, others he finds to be unbiblical.

Having extracted the heretical propositions, Eck then criticises the *Disputation*, starting with the “Ausschreiben” and then going through thesis-by-thesis.

As might be expected, several of his arguments against the first thesis are to do with the nature of the authority of the Early Church. He criticises Kolb’s identification of the articles of ancient faith with the Apostles’ Creed “as if there were no articles of ancient faith other than the twelve handed down to us by the apostles.”¹⁷

Eck also attacks at some length the reformers’ definition of faith as “trust in God and Christ.” Paul does not say that faith is trust but that it is a substance of things we hope for (Hebrews 11:1) and Augustine too says that “to believe is to believe that which you cannot see.” Thus, according to Eck, faith is not trust; it simply gives rise to trust. To identify Christian faith with trust, he continues, is to blur the distinction between orthodoxy and heresy. If they take faith to mean “trust,” on what grounds do the reformers consider Anabaptists, or for that matter Roman Catholics, as heretics? No, says Eck, faith is something more specific than trust, it has to have as its object a certain number of well-defined sacraments or *mysteries*.¹⁸

The chairmen’s partiality in admitting the testimony of the Early Church also comes in for some criticism. The dominican Alexius Grat, says Eck, was stopped when he wanted to cite Chrysostom’s exegesis of Christ’s words to Peter at Luke 5:1 as proof of Peter’s authority. However, Zwingli mentioned Augustine and Bucer, Eusebius, and Tertullian without being stopped.

If we turn to the corresponding passages of the *Acts*, we see that Grat was indeed stopped from citing Chrysostom’s testimony whereas no objections were raised to Bucer saying that the reformers’ definition of the Biblical canon corresponds to that of Eusebius. The point to be made here is that Bucer referred to Eusebius not as authority by means of which the Bible is to be interpreted, but

¹⁶ Eck used the *Handlung* printed in Zürich by Christopher Froschouer on 23 March 1528. Cf. Manfred Vischer, *Bibliographie der Zürcher Druckschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Baden-Baden, 1991, C 142, C 143.

¹⁷ *Verlegung*, p. 2: “. . . gleich als weren nicht mer artickel des alten glaubens, dann die zwölf Artickel uns von den Aposteln gegeben.”

¹⁸ Cf. *Verlegung*, p. 7.

simply so as to confirm the reformers' doctrine of the canon of the Scripture. However, the same does not apply to Zwingli's citing of Augustine,¹⁹ and Eck's complaints cannot be called unfounded. No more unfounded, it must be said, is the point he makes about criteria for interpretation of Scripture admitted (or apparently admitted) by the Berne Disputation.

"It is curious," says Eck, "that the Zwinglians are allowed to cite the Scripture and to say 'it means this' or 'it must be interpreted in such and such a way,' and gloss it as they see fit. It is all right for them to give their human and heretical nonsense, but the Christians are not allowed to bring forward Scriptural passages interpreted in accord with the holy Fathers and doctors of the Church . . ." ²⁰

As the reformers never refer to the fact that in most cases they have tacitly appropriated patristic exegesis, Eck is not unjustified in accusing them of arbitrary interpretations of Scripture. Where they do refer to the Fathers, Eck either asks "by what right" or points out that use or, to be more exact, misuse of the Fathers by heretics in support of false teaching is well documented. Augustine and Origen fell victims to it in their lifetime.²¹ Surprisingly, in his attack on the fourth thesis, Eck does not dwell at all on the quarrel between Zwinglians and Lutherans which he had used to such great advantage at Baden. His main argument in fact, is centered on the question of criteria for interpreting the Bible and on the reformers' (admittedly somewhat hypocritical) use of the Church Fathers. Eck's objections are not unfounded but they lack conviction and invention. He seems to have nothing to say over and above what has been said in Baden, and, as with Murner, the reader gets the impression that Eck is afraid lest the reformers reclaim the Early Church.

NEÜWE ZEITUNG

The anonymous *Neüwe zeitung*²² which was published on 28 January 1528 can be considered as the Berne Disputation's equivalent to the *Epistola Haliei* or the *Warhafftige handlung*. It covers the proceedings only up until around 15 January

¹⁹ Cf., e.g., *Verlegung*, pp. 49–50: "Zwingli wischt auch heraus, will mit Augustino beweysen, das der herr Johan. 21 nit han Petro die kirchen sonderlich befolhen, dann Augustinus sage, das Christus drey mal gefragt hab Petrum sey geschehen darumb, das Petrus Christum dreymal verleügnert hab, deshalb hat Christus alleyn hie Petro sein bösen leümbden von den jungeren abnehmen wollen. Darauss erlernt wirt, das Petrus nun widerbracht wirt zu eeren und würden des Apostolats."

²⁰ *Verlegung*, p. 13: "Es ist auch seltsam zu hören, den Zwinglischen ist erlaubt, wann sie ain stell aus der Gschrift bringen, daz sie darnach sagen, daz ist die maynung, daz ist die ausslegung etc. sagend ir gloss, daz hat man zugelassen, die menschen dant und ir verfürische gloss und den Christen gestat man nit das sie die göttliche geschrift einfüren nach verstand und ausslegen der heyligen vater und lerer . . ."

²¹ *Verlegung*, p. 50: ". . . gleich als wer S. Augustin auch auff ir seyten, des haben all ketzer sich geflissen, daz sie wol benant lerer, haben fügen, sie seyen ir maynung, wie Augustino von den ketzern in seinen leben geschehen ist, wie yetz Zwingli dem todten thut, auch Origenes sich beklagt in seynem leben, sein bücher von den ketzern gefelscht worden."

²² *Neüwe zeitung von der Disputation zu Bern yetzt gehalten*. Anno 1528 (Geben am 28. tag Januarii. Anno 1528). Text published in E. Bloesch, *Eine neue Quelle zur Geschichte der Berner Disputation* in: *Theologische Zeitschrift aus der Schweiz* 1891, 157–163.

1528 and, although obviously emanating from a hostile pen, it makes some salient points and puts the reformers' victory in perspective.

First of all, the author shows very clearly just how superior in numbers the reformers' side was:

As the time set for the Disputation drew near, there came to Berne in great force the Zurchers, the Baslers, the Schaffhausers as well as those from St. Gallen, Strasbourg and Constance, all of whom had given advice or help in connexion with the Disputation, and besides many ordinary people and all sorts of populace, learned and unlearned.²³

The author then lists the names of the "berümtren gelerten" who played a crucial role in the disputation—Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Capito, Bucer, Alexius Grat, etc.—and goes on to point out that no bishops were present, which made the reformers' task a great deal easier. Apparently, he says, Sebastian de Montfaucon, Bishop of Lausanne, who had suffered a fall from his horse,²⁴ asked that the Disputation be postponed until he could get there, but the Bernese simply laughed at this.

As the Catholic Cantons sent no official representative either, there were only a few people present who were ready and willing to refute the theses. Finally a dominican, Alexius Grat, picked up the challenge and argued for two days although it was well known that he was not a man of great learning. Even so, "he gave his opponents enough to do, so that with all their splendid Latin, Greek and Hebrew, they could not get rid of him."²⁵

On 10 January the Bishop of Lausanne sent a message to Berne to say that he was bringing or sending "three men learned in the Scripture." People say, continues the author of the *Neuwe zeitung*, that one of the three was Josse Clichtove, the Parisian doctor of theology, and another one had the Christian name "Natalis" (Noël) and could have been Beda. The three would have been happy to defend the bishop's party against the reformers but knew no German, their native language being French, and Latin was forbidden by the rules of the Disputation.²⁶

²³ *Neuwe zeitung*, A2r-v. "Als die zeit nun darauff die Disputaion bestimpt war nahet, kamen darauff mit gemeynem gewalt und bevelh gen Bern die Zürcher, Bassler, Schaffhauser, die von S. Gallen, Strassburger, Costnitzer, welche all geacht wurden radt und that geben haben oder hilff und fürderung gethon zu der Disputation; unnd sunst vil gemeyns volcks und allerley pöbles gelerter und ungelerter."

²⁴ On this see further Bucer, *In Ioh.*, ed. Backus, Praef. Bern, 3 and nn. 10–11.

²⁵ *Neuwe zeitung*, A3v.: "er doch also vil seiner widerparthey zuschaffen gab: die so köstlich im Latein, Griechischen und Hebraischen berümpft seind, das sie nit wol von jm kundten kommen."

²⁶ *Neuwe zeitung*, A3v.: "... drei fast geleerte Männer der heyligen Geschrifft mit jr bringend, under welchem man vermeyndt eynen gewesen sein Jodocum Clichtoveum, und eynen Natalen, doch unwissen ob es Beda gewesen sei, die wolten gern die parthei der Bischoff vertheydigt haben, wann sie die sprach nit gehindert hat. Man wolt sie nit zulassen, lateinisch zu disputiern, so kundten sie keyn teütsch, dann sie Franzosen von Paris waren." We might note that Guillaume Farel was allowed to speak in Latin during the "Welsch" part of the Disputation which took place at the very end, and of which no *Acts* survive. Cf. *Steck/Tobler* 1, no. 1494, pp. 619–620.

Thus, after a few days' fruitless waiting they left. Konrad Treger for his part, was deliberately got rid of by the reformers for arguing too well.²⁷ The writer does not know what happened subsequently, as he had to leave himself. However, he can assure his readers that the disputation was conducted in an extremely dishonest manner so that the Roman Catholic party was given no chance of defending themselves.

It is not my intention to repeat here what I have already said in the notes to my edition of Bucer's "Preface to the Bernese ministers," appended to his *Commentary on the Gospel of John*. It is, however, interesting to note that Bucer read the *Neuwe zeitung* and that he took it seriously enough to wish to refute the accusations of the "nugivendus" that he considers its author to have been. Bucer insists that it is the Roman Catholics themselves who (driven by Satan) refused to take part in the Disputation. He then cites some of Grat's arguments²⁸ to show how inept they were and points out that Treger appeared at the Disputation after spurning the official invitation, and having appeared, would not argue from the Scripture.²⁹ As for the Bishop of Lausanne and his wish to have the Disputation postponed, Bucer³⁰ simply recounts his version of the facts. After Montfaucon's accident, Berne sent a letter to him requesting that he send envoys. The letter is dated 5 January 1528. On 12 January the envoys had gone and the Berne authorities again wrote to Montfaucon reporting their precipitate and unexplained departure. Official documents³¹ bear out Bucer's rather than the *Neuwe zeitung's* version of the events. However, it is worth noting that the two are not mutually exclusive. Montfaucon might well have wished that the Disputation be postponed and it was the Berne authorities who requested he send envoys. As for the possible presence of Clichtove, Beda, and so on, Bucer would obviously have no interest in reporting that they appeared and were not allowed to take part, as this could justifiably be construed as an admission of cowardice on the part of the reformers.

Untheological, designed simply to discredit the procedural side of the Disputation, the *Neuwe zeitung* obviously constituted a threat to the reformers, if Bucer's reaction in his Preface is anything to go by. Should we conclude from this that the "nugivendus" had hit on a weak spot, that neither Murner nor Eck managed to find with their more theological objections?

²⁷ *Neuwe zeitung*, A4r.-v.: "Am Freitag zu morgen disputiert man wider. Am selben tag auch nach mittag fieng obgenannt Conradt Trager wider an zu argumentieren wider Martinum Butzer, redt also hefftig unnd hart wider jn, das jnen zulezt al bey den still zuschweigen gebotten ward. Doch gieng Conradt Trager zu eym Radt von Bern begerend, das man jm zu lies unnd stat geb, seyn unnd christlicher sach zu verteidigen, es ward jm aber solchs abgeschlagen."

²⁸ Bucer, *In Joh.*, ed. Backus, Praef. Bern, 4.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 5-7.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 3 nn. 10-11.

Conclusion

Looked at as a cultural and theological phenomenon, the Disputations of Baden and Berne are astonishingly symmetrical, not only in the issues discussed, but also in the way that each Disputation is dominated by one party – the Roman Catholics in Baden and the reformers in Berne. The most distinctive difference between them lies in the method adopted. At some stage between 1526 and 1528 the reformers redefine the Church and appropriate the patristic tradition in a way which, it would seem, occasions some worry to the opposite side. It is quite plain that Zwingli only started to think seriously about how to counter Roman Catholic arguments when the Baden Disputation was underway. His arguments from then on sharpened progressively, and by 1528 the new method was fully functional, thanks partly to the help of the Strasbourgers.

The examination of the two debates as well as of the most important pamphlets surrounding them was intended to show something of the shaping of reformed theology and its methods which, in their early stages, were characterised by a tacit appropriation of patristic tradition¹ in the service of “sola Scriptura” and by a great fluidity of doctrine. This fluidity enabled Eck to side with Lutherans against the Zwinglians in 1526 on the question of the eucharist and also made it possible for him to turn the Scripture against them. By 1528 the positions had evolved so that the concept of the Church was radically redefined and the reformers had sufficient confidence to air their differences on the eucharist in public.

It is also interesting to notice the different levels of debate: (1) the strictly theological as evidenced by the arguments advanced during the two Disputations and some of the pamphlets; (2) the simplified theological level as shown notably by the sermons delivered at the Berne Disputation urging, among other things, the (reformed) faithful to perform good works; and (3) the human level as shown by the *Epistola Haliei* and the *Neüwe zeitung* which simply report on what took place. In the case of the *Neüwe zeitung* in particular there is every reason to believe that it posed a greater threat to the reformers than the more theological refutations.

¹ On this, see further Irena Backus, *Martin Bucer and the Patristic Tradition*, paper given at the Bucer Congress, Strasbourg, August 1991 and due to appear in the *Proceedings*.

One cannot help but be struck by the fact that while the reformers' arguments evolve considerably between 1526 and 1528, the Roman Catholics in 1528 do little more than reuse the arguments they had advanced two years previously. Can they find no new arguments or do they feel that they had done all the work that was necessary in 1526? The question is not easy to answer. Obviously Eck and the others could not redefine their concept of the Church without joining the reformers' camp. New evidence could certainly be found but any alteration in the method would have amounted to a confession of weakness.

Finally, it must not be forgotten that to understand the Swiss Reformation, the two Disputations must be studied together, the one constituting a reversal of the other. It would be interesting to speculate what form the Berne Disputation would have had, if that of Baden had not taken place.

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